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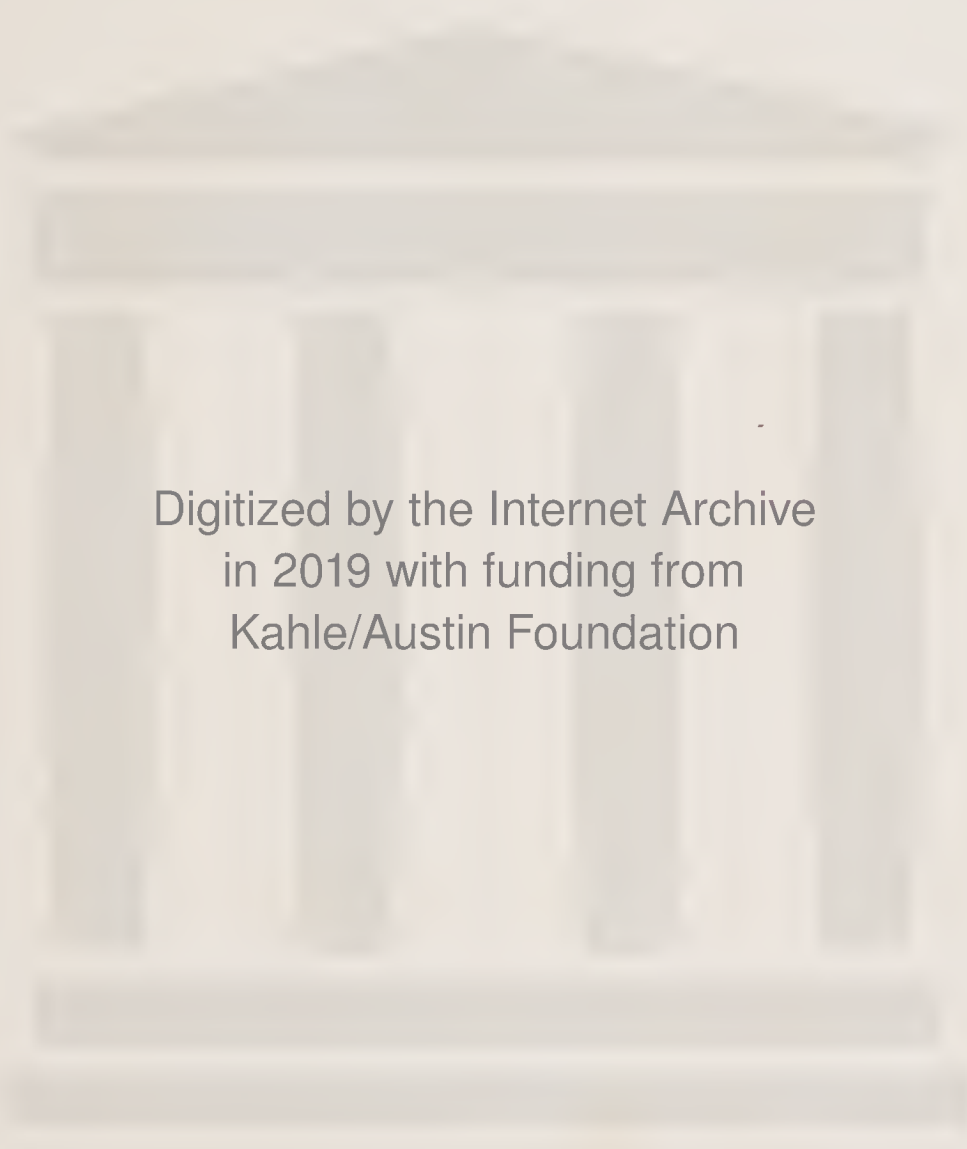
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THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

Erected on Bedloe's Island in New York Harbour, this colossal statue was presented to the United States by the people of France

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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And many other Specialists

Volume XV

THE UNITED STATES

Growth and Development of the Country

The Civil War and After

CANADA

The Self-Governing Dominion

NEWFOUNDLAND

The Oldest British Colony

THE WEST INDIES

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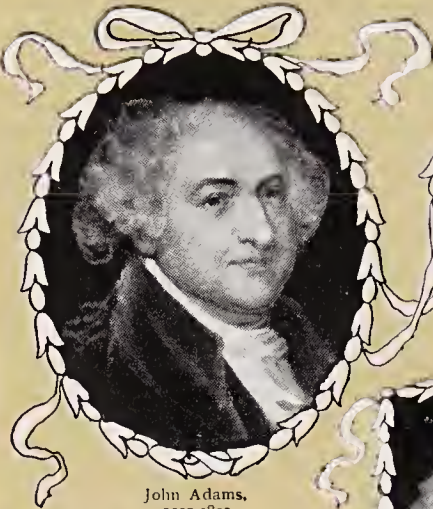
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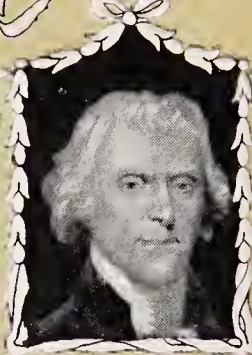
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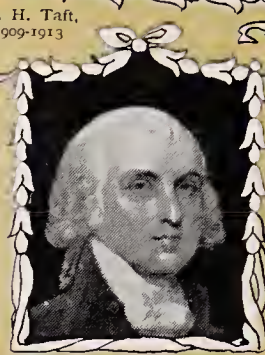
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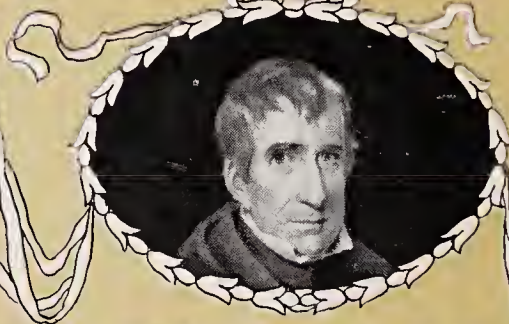
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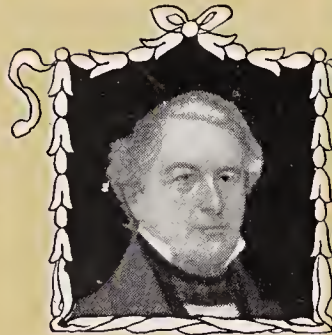
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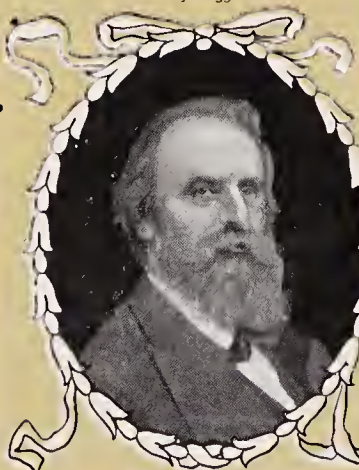
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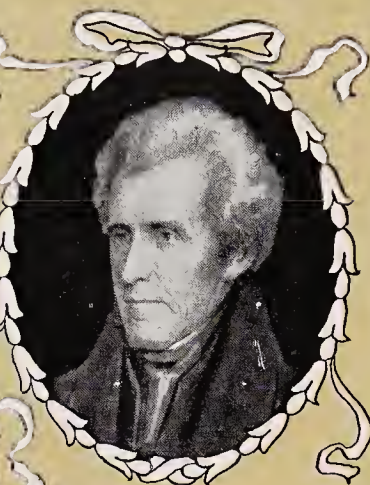


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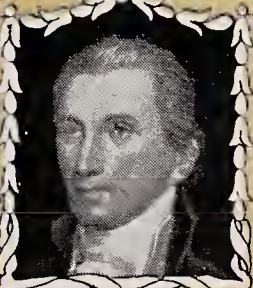
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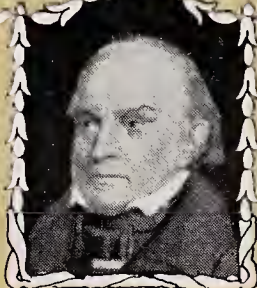
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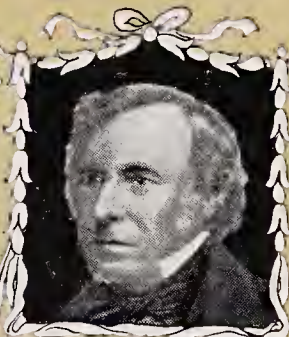
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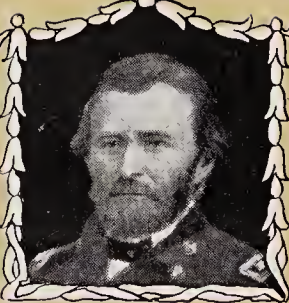
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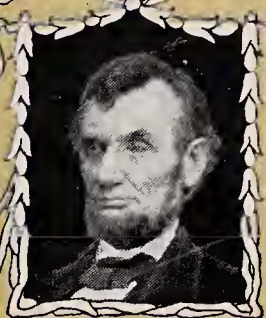
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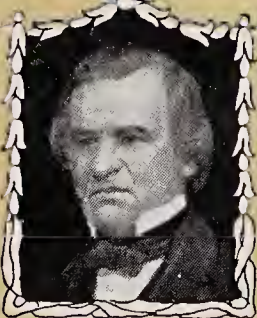
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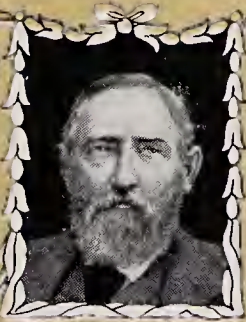
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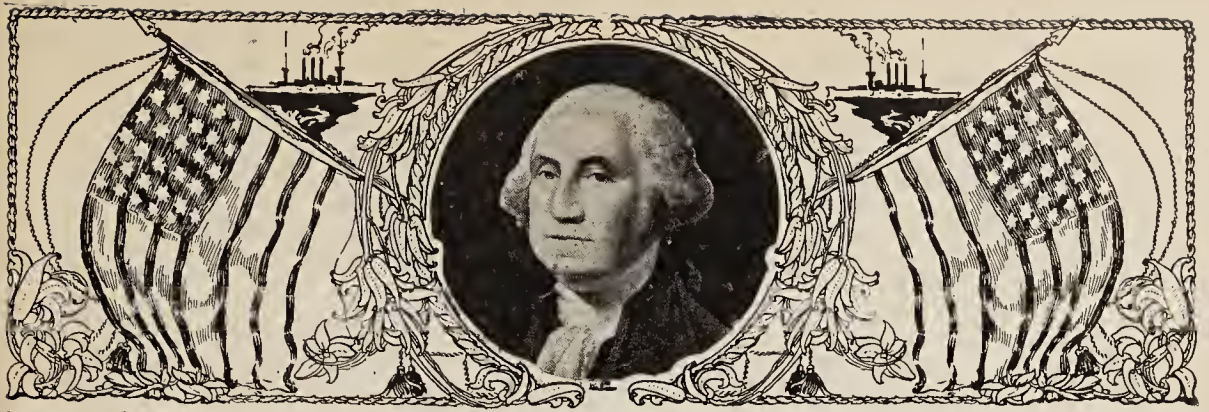
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THE UNITED STATES

BUILDING THE NEW NATION

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF WASHINGTON AND JOHN ADAMS

WASHINGTON would have much preferred to remain in retirement at Mount Vernon to enjoy the peace and quiet of the plantation which he loved. The call to duty could not be resisted, however, and the expressions of respect and veneration which he received on his way to the seat of the new government must have thrilled him to the depths of his soul. All eyes were turned upon him, all hopes were centred in him. If he could not make the new union workable, no one could. Finally he reached New York, and on April 30, 1789, took the oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall, on Wall Street.

There were no precedents to guide the new government. The Confederation had neither executive nor judiciary. The Congress which had been the governing power during the Revolution was simply a revolutionary body. The Confederation, in spite of its impotence, still had friends, who had been unwilling to see it supplanted by a stronger body. The new government as contemplated by the yet untried Constitution was unlike anything in the experience of the men of the day. Prophets of evil were many, and some would not have been sorry to see their predictions of failure realised.

The task before the President and Congress was staggering. Federal departments must be created, their sphere of action defined and officials appointed; courts were to be created, and judges

and court officials named; money for expenses must be found; commerce was to be regulated; treaties with foreign states must be made, and those treaties already made must be carried into effect. Something must be done about the debt, which was steadily piling up. Dozens of questions demanded attention.

Almost immediately a tax on imports was levied, not without acrimonious debate, and Congress then turned to the erection of the various departments. Only three of these were created during the first summer; *viz.*, Foreign Affairs (soon called State), Treasury, and War. To these were appointed Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and General Henry Knox. Edmund Randolph was appointed Attorney General, but this office was not deemed so important as the others, and was not expected to require the entire time of the incumbent. Washington from the beginning called these men together to consult on matters of personal interest, and soon the name "Cabinet" was applied. The Postmaster General was not a member of the Cabinet until much later.

A Supreme Court, to consist of a Chief Justice and five associates, was created. A district court for every state was also formed, and intermediate circuit courts were established. Congress also examined the amendments to the Constitution recommended by the states, and submitted twelve to be voted upon by the people. Ten were adopted, and there-

The Cabinet is Created

The Great Task of Washington



This is the entrance to the United States Sub-Treasury on Wall Street which stands on the site of Federal Hall, where Congress met when New York was the capital of the United States. This fine statue of Washington, by J. Q. A. Ward, stands on almost the same spot where he stood when taking the oath of office April 30, 1789. The original building was torn down long ago.

fore can be considered practically as a part of the original Constitution. Before adjourning, Congress asked Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare a report on the finances of the United States. He complied, and during the years 1790 and 1791 presented four reports, dealing respectively with the public debt, an excise tax, a national bank, and a system of protective duties.

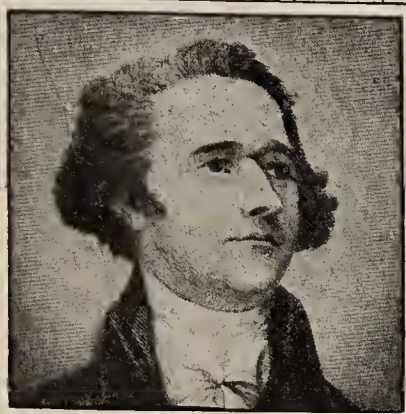
Hamilton insisted that the debt of the United States, now amounting to something over \$55,000,000, should be exchanged at par for uniform obligations of the nation, bearing a fixed rate of interest. Objection was at once made that the present holders, many of them speculators, had come into possession of the old certificates at a great discount. Madison believed that the debt should be paid at par, but suggested that the present holders be paid at the ruling price, while the remainder be paid to the original holders. The depreciation had

Hamilton
on the
Public Debt

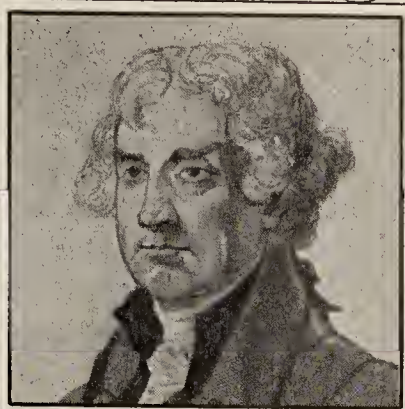
been progressive, as the obligations passed from hand to hand, and this scheme was soon recognised as impracticable. It was, in truth, as unjust as the other, and Hamilton's views were adopted. His purpose was to raise the credit of the United States, and his policy was so successful that soon obligations of the United States were worth their face value.

The next step in Hamilton's programme called for the assumption of the state debts incurred for revolutionary purposes. Here again strong opposition was manifested. Some of the states had paid a large part of their debts; others had done little or nothing. The representatives of the thrifty states objected to being again taxed for the benefit of the more careless or less honourable states. Hamilton's policy was as much political as financial. He wished to strengthen and solidify the national government. He believed that if the ob-

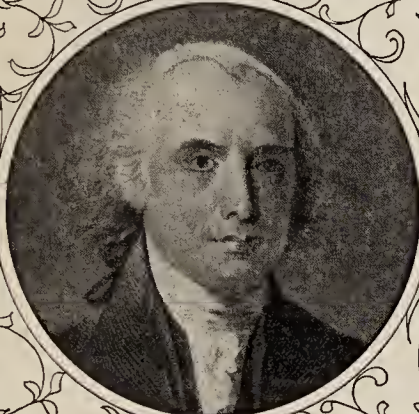
The Debts
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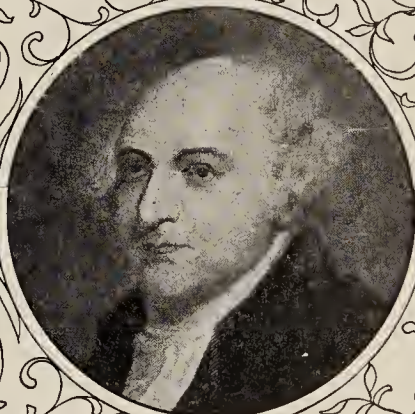
HAMILTON



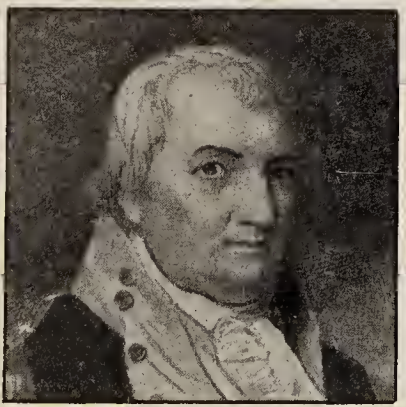
JEFFERSON



MADISON



ADAMS



PINCKNEY



CLINTON

SOME BUILDERS OF THE NEW NATION

The firmness of John Adams gained a favourable treaty of peace from England, while Hamilton's skill in money affairs put the nation on its feet. Jefferson made a lasting impression on the policy of the United States, through his authorship of the Declaration of Independence, and through his Presidency. Madison had a large share in framing and defending the Constitution and was the fourth President. DeWitt Clinton built the Erie Canal, of which we shall hear more.

ligations of the national government were widely held, a strong conservative force would be created in every state. So even was the strength of the advocates and the opponents of the measure in Congress that the deciding votes for assumption were gained by a bargain, by which the site of the new capital city was to be placed upon the banks of the Potomac. Pennsylvania, which had expected the new city to be built on the Delaware, was placated by naming Philadelphia as the capital for ten years, while the site of the new national city was being chosen, and suitable buildings were constructed.

Hamilton also favoured the formation of a bank with power to issue notes. Here began a division, which persisted almost to the present day, between the strict constructionists and the nationalists. The Constitution did not specifically mention a national bank, and one party held that Congress had no power to establish such an institution. The other party maintained that since the Constitution gave Congress the right to make laws "which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," the action was perfectly constitutional. Washington was in doubt when the bill was presented to him, but finally followed the advice of Hamilton, rather than that of Jefferson and approved the bill. The bank was established with a capital of \$10,000,000 of which the government held one-fifth.

Hamilton's recommendation of an excise tax on liquors was not primarily financial, but was intended to bring home to the people the fact that a national government existed. Soon after it was voted, trouble arose. On some parts of the frontier, where means of transportation were almost non-existent, grain could hardly be marketed except in the form of whiskey, which even served as currency. Great indignation was aroused, and in western Pennsylvania and the adjoining counties of Virginia forcible resistance was offered. Pittsburgh was threatened by the "Whiskey Boys," and some revenue officials were roughly handled. Washington at once called out the militia, and sent an unnecessarily

large body, about 15,000 men in all, which, however, purposely marched very slowly. The insurgents were overawed and dispersed. The "Whiskey Rebellion" was ended, and the country had learned that the United States could and would suppress insurrection against its authority.

In 1790 Congress prepared to carry out the bargain by which the seat of government was to be fixed on the banks of the Potomac. A committee of three, advised by President Washington, was authorised to select a site, and reported promptly. Washington knew the country thoroughly, and had already chosen the present location. The federal district was laid out partly in Maryland and partly in Virginia, but the "Federal City," as Washington called it, was placed in the Maryland cession. The name of Washington was not given to the city until after the President's death which occurred in 1799.

Ambitious plans for the city were drawn up by Major L'Enfant, a French engineer serving in the army, with whom Washington was in frequent consultation. These plans were intended to make the city the most beautiful capital in the world, but have not been entirely carried out. Work on the Capitol and upon the President's House was soon begun, but neither was finished when the government was removed to its permanent location in 1800. Mrs. Adams has left a vivid and interesting account of some of the difficulties of housekeeping in the remote locality, without any of the conveniences or luxuries of Philadelphia or Boston. Gouverneur Morris aptly wrote: "We want nothing here but houses, cellars, kitchens, well-informed men, amiable women, and other trifles to make our city perfect." For a long time, Washington resembled a straggling frontier village, and only about 1870 were the possibilities of its plan even imperfectly realised.

All the while that Hamilton was busy with financial organisation, Jefferson and his successors were equally busy with foreign relations. As the West was directly affected by our dealings with two of these nations, England

The Bank of the United States

The City of Washington Laid Out

The "Whiskey Rebellion"

England Retains the Frontier Posts

and Spain, they will be discussed first. England had sent no minister to the United States, and steadfastly refused to make a commercial treaty. Further, at the beginning of Washington's administration five frontier posts, which, according to the treaty, should have been evacuated, were still held. The excuses for the retention were the obstacles thrown in the way of collecting British debts, and the ill-treatment of the Loyalists. The chief reason, which was not mentioned, was that through the possession of these forts English and Canadians were able to control the fur trade. The coming of American settlers into the region north of the Ohio aroused the Indians, and they were further excited by the traders and officials, who foresaw the loss of the fur trade as the country became settled. Some of the Canadian officials also wished to keep the Indians as a buffer between the settlements in Canada and in the United States. General St. Clair, already mentioned as the governor of the Northwest Territory, saw the danger of an Indian uprising, and with the militia sent to him marched against the hostile bands. He was ambushed and his forces were cut to pieces on November 4, 1791.

Washington then sent General Anthony Wayne, the captor of Stony Point, to conduct military operations. Joseph Brant was visiting the Indian tribes and urging them to stand firmly for their hunting grounds. Lord Dorchester, formerly known as Sir Guy Carleton, had informed some Indian chiefs that England and the United States would soon be at war and that the Indians could then recover their hunting grounds. Wayne met and routed the Indians in the summer of 1794, and destroyed their villages. A British post which had been built south of Detroit would not receive the defeated Indians, who dispersed. Wayne did not make an attack on the fort, though he had been authorised to do so. Had he done so, it would probably have brought on another war with Great Britain. The next summer the Indians were glad to make peace and definitely gave up all claim to the greater part of the present state of Ohio, which thereafter gained rapidly in popu-

lation. The coming of settlers made clear to the English and the Canadians that they could hardly expect to hold the frontier posts indefinitely.

Spain's attitude has been mentioned in the previous chapter, and also the indignation aroused in the South and Southwest by Jay's apparent willingness to sacrifice the navigation of the Mississippi, in exchange for commercial privileges for the trading states. Spain took advantage of the dissatisfaction, and sent agents among the western settlers to induce them to place themselves under Spanish protection. Some of the Westerners were seduced for a time, among them Sevier and Robertson of Tennessee, but patriotism was too strong, particularly after 'it became evident that Kentucky would soon be admitted as a state, as Vermont had been. The people of Tennessee felt that their turn would come soon. A second intrigue with a land company, which had bought from Georgia a large tract in the territory which Spain claimed as a part of West Florida, also failed, when Washington issued a proclamation warning the people of possible consequences.

Meanwhile Spanish agents were dealing with the powerful Indian tribes of the south, the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws. The most influential of these agents was Alexander McGillivray, the son of a Scotch father and a French and Creek mother. He had been well-educated and had great business ability. During the Revolution he had been a Tory, and had suffered considerable loss of property. With the hope of gaining his good-will, Congress voted him a large sum for these losses, and he was made American agent with the rank of Brigadier General. After his death, it was found that he had continued to receive pay from Spain, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Indian depredations had not ceased after his appointment. Finally the Tennessee settlers lost patience with the peaceful policy of the administration, and made fierce attacks upon the Indians, which resulted in peace for the time.

Since all attempts to win the Westerners by indirect means had failed, Spain began to fear lest they should join

Spanish Agents Among the Indians

Ohio is Opened to Settlement

the French (with whom Spain was now at war) in an attack upon the Spanish possessions. Such was the plan of the French envoy Genêt, of whom we shall speak presently. Jefferson was also suggesting to France that aid to take all Florida from Spain might be furnished by the United States. Both of these possibilities had influence, and Spain was ready to sign a favourable treaty in 1795. In the treaty Spain acknowledged 31° as the northern boundary of West Florida, granted the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, and allowed American traders to re-ship their goods from New Orleans.

With France, the relations were somewhat different. France had proclaimed the establishment of a republic, and was

**The Troubles
with
France**

involved in war with England and Spain. In some sections there was much enthusiasm for our former ally, whom many thought to be contending for the same principles which had animated the American colonists. The arrival of the first minister of the French republic increased the difficulties. France demanded the aid of the United States on the base of former treaties. Hamilton wished to declare the treaties abrogated on the ground that the government with which they were made no longer existed, while Jefferson was disposed to favour the French contention. Washington followed a middle course, interpreting the treaty as narrowly as possible, and issued a proclamation of neutrality. The French minister, "Citizen" Edmond Charles Edouard Genêt, landed at Charleston, April 8, 1793, and at once began, regardless of the proclamation of neutrality, to fit out an expedition against Spanish Florida, and to commission privateers.

He was enthusiastically welcomed on his journey to Philadelphia, and became convinced that the American people did not approve the policy of neutrality announced by Washington. An attempt was made to fit out an expedition to capture Louisiana, which gained some following in the West, on account of the attitude of Spain. Genêt fitted out a captured English vessel as a privateer, and defied the administration by sending it to sea, after he had promised to take no

such action. He had also talked of "appealing to the people," against Washington. He made the same mistake which other aliens have made since. The people would not tolerate such interference from a foreigner, and Genêt rapidly lost ground. Washington asked for his recall, but as his faction, the Girondists, had lost power in France, he was glad to remain in America, and married a daughter of Governor Clinton of New York.

The difficulties with France brought increased difficulty with England. France, since she could not while at war monopolise the trade of her West Indian islands, threw it open to the world. It was obvious that the United

**England Inter-
feres with
Neutral Trade**

States would gain the greater part of this trade. The French diplomats hoped that England would object, and become involved with the United States. A brisk exchange of West Indian products with the United States immediately sprang up. England brought up the principle that a trade closed to a neutral in time of peace could not be opened in time of war. She therefore seized American ships bound for the French West Indies, and began to seize neutral ships carrying French goods, and ships carrying goods to France. In stopping and searching ships, her officers took off any sailors born in England, refusing to recognise the naturalisation laws of the United States. Apparently the orders of the British Government were carried out in a contemptuous and high-handed fashion. The news aroused much indignation, coming as it did at the same time as the reports of Lord Dorchester's speech to the North-West Indians, and preparations for war were made. Eighty thousand militia were authorised.

Washington felt that we were entirely unprepared for war, and in 1794 sent John Jay to make another effort to arrange a treaty. Jay was not aggressive, and surrendered some points on which he had been instructed to insist.

**Jay's Treaty
with
England**

The treaty he negotiated provided for the surrender by the British of the frontier posts, the appointment of commissions to settle disputed boundaries, and to examine the claims of the British merchants for pre-revolutionary debts.

BUILDING THE NEW NATION

Other commissions were to examine claims of British merchants for illegal seizure by French privateers fitted out in American ports. Commercial intercourse on the basis of the "most favoured nation" was provided between the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, but only small privileges were allowed in the British West Indies. The privilege of direct trading to the British East Indies was granted, as was also the right to trade with Canada inland. In other words England secured unlimited rights to trade with the United States, and gave in return limited rights. The principle that free ships make free goods was not recognised, and nothing was said about the right of search, or the impressment of American seamen, thus ignoring the most irritating grievances.

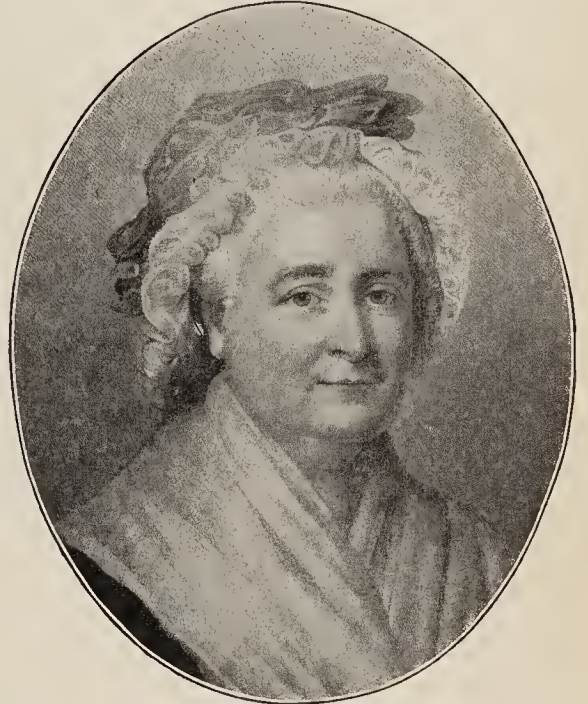
The treaty was received with indignation by the people, and Washington himself hesitated to send it to the Senate.

Effects of the Treaty Just at this time the British Government withdrew the order forbidding Americans to trade directly with the French West Indies. Taking advantage of the satisfaction caused by this concession, Washington ventured to send the treaty to the Senate. It seemed to him that the terms were as good as could be gotten, and that if not ratified, war might occur. This view prevailed, and the Senate approved, after cutting out the section relating to the trade with the British West Indies, and England agreed to the omission. The effect was better than had been expected. The Northwest territory was rapidly settled, since the danger of Indian attacks was lessened. The treaty with Spain a year later, which has already been mentioned, opened the Mississippi, and the development of the West was assured.

New States Are Admitted to the Union During Washington's administration, the policy of admitting new states was begun. The Green Mountain territory was claimed both by New Hampshire and New York, Massachusetts had also once claimed part of it, but the claim had been adjusted with New Hampshire. In 1777 the settlers proclaimed themselves an independent state with the name "New Connecticut alias Vermont." During the Revolution the

Vermont militia rendered important service on several occasions, but Congress, unwilling to antagonise New York and New Hampshire, would not recognise the independence of the state. Finally in 1791, Vermont was admitted as the fourteenth state, after paying New York \$30,000 in satisfaction of all claims.

The relations of Kentucky to Virginia have already been described. Virginia



MARTHA WASHINGTON

in 1789 agreed to the formation of a new state, and in 1792 Kentucky became the fifteenth member of the Union. Tennessee, which has also been mentioned, was admitted as the sixteenth state in 1796. The territory of Mississippi was created, in 1798, and its limits were later extended. As it was clear that Ohio would soon be admitted as a state, the territory of Indiana was created in 1800. Plainly the westward tide was running strongly.

The Two Term Rule Washington found administration onerous, and determined to retire at the end of one term. The success of the new government was not yet assured, however, and so many important questions were pending that he was persuaded that it was his duty to stand for another term. He was re-elected unanimously, and John Adams was continued as Vice-President. Conditions were somewhat

different at the end of his second term. Jay's treaty had removed the immediate danger of a war with Great Britain, the Spanish treaty had relieved the West, and the government stood firmly on its feet. Then, too, the failure of his attempt to prevent division into parties, and the attacks made upon his administration, and even upon him personally, had touched him deeply. Therefore he absolutely refused to serve again, thus establishing the "unwritten law" not yet broken, that no President shall serve more than two terms.

Washington, usually very clear-sighted, could not understand that his attempt to prevent the development of parties was doomed to failure. His later policy of ignoring the differences when they did arise was hardly more successful. His natural sympathies were with the Federalist rather than with the Republican point of view, and this leaning became quite pronounced during his second term. At the end of the term, "Federalist" and "Republican" had come to have a more or less definite meaning, of which we shall now speak.

Until the adoption of the Constitution, the word "Federalist" was applied to those who favoured a stronger central government, while the opponents of the Constitution called themselves "Anti-Federalists."

The terms were not exact, for the Anti-Federalists really wished to preserve an exceedingly loosely federated government, while the Federalists actually desired something more than this. Naturally the men placed in office by Washington were Federalists. There were among these early Federalists entirely different elements. One was frankly commercial, favouring the rights of property, and feeling that there was security for property only under a strong government. Another was disposed to exalt the national government for the sake of what was believed to be the general welfare, regardless of class. The third had supported the Constitution, but was not disposed to see the government exalted at the expense of individual liberty.

The first two classes, represented by Hamilton, were disposed to construe the Constitution liberally, the third to con-

**Political
Parties are
Developed**

strue it literally. On the question of the establishment of the United States Bank, Hamilton and Jefferson were absolutely opposed. On other questions as they arose, the same opposition occurred. Jefferson believed in the essential wisdom of the whole people, whom Hamilton distrusted, wishing to place the power in the hands of the man of intelligence and property. Jefferson believed the government should allow the greatest measure of individual freedom, while Hamilton believed in a strong government, actually engaged in promoting the progress and prosperity of the citizens. These opposing attitudes have always appeared in every country enjoying any considerable measure of political freedom. Such differing types of mind could not work together, and since Hamilton's influence over Washington was the stronger, Jefferson retired from the Cabinet at the end of 1793, and devoted himself to the organisation of the new Republican party, which must not be confused with the Republican party of to-day.

To his standard rallied the great mass of the old Anti-Federalists, and a large proportion of the small farmers of the country. Strong leaders were few, for undoubtedly the Federalist party contained a larger share of the ability of the country. The strength of the Federalist party lay in the large cities, in the commercial states, and among the richer planters of the South. Soon sympathy with the theoretical principles of the French Revolution led the Republicans to become defenders and advocates of France. The Federalists were almost necessarily placed in the position of being apologists for England. Thus it is easy to see why foreign affairs influenced domestic policies until after the War of 1812.

On retiring Washington issued his "Farewell Address," in which he advised his countrymen to avoid sectionalism, pointed out the dangers of party animosity and strongly urged the policy of neutrality in European contests, and the avoidance of "entangling alliances." In the election of 1796, John Adams, the Federalist candidate, was elected President over the candidate of the Republicans,

**Federalist
and Anti-
Federalist**

**Federalist
and
Republican**

BUILDING THE NEW NATION

Thomas Jefferson, who became Vice-President, as he had received next to the greatest number of votes.

John Adams had a clear head, large experience in public affairs, was devoted to his country and was thoroughly honest. He was also opinionated,

Character of John Adams stubborn, and so tactless that he alienated many men who should have been his strong

supporters. He had gained the ill-will of Hamilton, no longer in public office, but still powerful in party councils, and so was inaugurated President with a divided party. The attempt to gain Republican support by offering the French mission first to Jefferson and then to Madison succeeded only in alienating his own followers without gaining support from the Republicans.

Foreign affairs immediately claimed the attention of President Adams. James Monroe, an ardent Republican, had been recalled, just before the end of Washington's administration, because of his indiscreet expressions of sympathy with revolutionary France. When Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a Federalist, was sent as his successor the Directory, then in charge in France, refused to receive him and recalled the French minister until French grievances were redressed. These grievances had to do chiefly with Jay's treaty, which destroyed the French preference in the American trade. This insult to our envoy created great excitement in the United States, but Adams appointed a commission consisting of Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, a Republican, to adjust the difficulty. At the same time, preparations for war were made. Three frigates which had been begun were hurried to completion, and the President was authorized to call out 80,000 militia. This number seems to have been a favourite in the early days.

The commission was unable to make any progress in the negotiations. Talleyrand, later famous as one of Napoleon's ministers, sent agents to the commissioners, to suggest that if large sums of money were paid their business

The X. Y. Z. Correspondence

might possibly be expedited. When the agents had fully committed themselves in writing, the American commissioners in-

dignantly refused, and Pinckney's reply, somewhat edited and improved in literary form "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," later became a rallying cry in the United States. The commission returned to the United States, and the correspondence with Talleyrand's agents was sent to Congress, in April, 1798, using the initials X, Y and Z instead of the names of the writers.

This was the climax. For several years France had been interfering with the commerce of the United States, justifying such action by England's course before the treaty. Since the United States had not forcibly resisted England's claim that provisions destined for France were contraband, France held that provisions destined for England were contraband, and therefore seized them. The doctrine seemed to be that if a neutral power could not defend its commerce, it thereby ceased to be neutral. Since the United States had not forcibly defended their ships against the action of the British navy, the French claimed that they thereby became allies of Great Britain.

Preparations for war continued, a Navy Department was created, and an army of 10,000 men to serve for three years was called for. The few ships of the American navy put to sea and gave a good account of themselves.

The new "Constellation" captured the French "L'Insurgente" and fought "La Vengeance" to a standstill. Many other French vessels were taken, chiefly privateers, and American privateers took many French merchant vessels. During more than two years, during which this naval fighting was going on, the United States were never officially at war with France.

Adams was almost popular for a time, but the Federalists were unwise enough to press their advantage too far. Some of the Republican editors who had made such vicious attacks upon the administrations of both Washington

The Alien and Sedition Laws

and Adams were of foreign birth, and some of the Republican leaders had also been born abroad. Therefore, during the summer of 1798 four acts known collectively as the "Alien and Sedition Acts" were passed. The first extended

the period necessary for naturalisation from five to fourteen years. The second provided that in time of peace, the President might order out of the country any alien he deemed "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." The third rendered the subjects of any hostile nation "liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured and removed as alien enemies." The fourth provided fine and imprisonment for any who should "counsel, advise or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly or combination;" and similar penalties were provided against any person who should "write, print, utter or publish . . . any false, scandalous and malicious writing against the government of the United States, or either House of Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States." These acts were imitations of similar acts which had been passed in England a little while before.

Meanwhile since France did not declare war, recruiting for the new army went on slowly. Washington had been appointed to the chief command, with Hamilton second, and it was understood that the latter was to be the active leader. The friends of the older officers who had been passed over were indignant at Hamilton's appointment. Hamilton also had a scheme for making an alliance with England and destroying the authority of France's ally, Spain, in the Western hemisphere. Florida and Louisiana were to be added to the United States, while England was to take the other Spanish possessions. President Adams, however, received an intimation that France would be glad to make peace, and nominated a minister without asking the advice of the Federalist leaders, most of whom desired a war with France. Three commissioners, Oliver Ellsworth, William Richardson Davie and William Vans Murray were substituted for the single minister, and a satisfactory treaty was concluded at Paris in 1800. Hamilton's plans, of course, collapsed, and the army was disbanded.

Since war was not declared with France, the "Alien Enemies Act" never came into force. Few or no aliens were

deported under the "Alien Act" but many indictments were found under the "Sedition Act." Only ten were brought to trial and all were convicted. These trials were given wide publicity and caused great excitement. They damaged the Federalist party especially since only Republicans were indicted, while Federalist editors and speakers were not molested, though individuals among them were quite as violent as some of the Republicans who were punished.

The Republicans felt that the Federalists were in a conspiracy to destroy the rights of the people. As they saw the question, Hamilton and other Federalist leaders wished to concentrate all power into the hands of the general government, backed up by an army, and reduce the states to mere administrative divisions. It was well known that Hamilton the year before had advocated wiping out state lines. The proposition of creating a southern republic was seriously discussed, but Jefferson opposed the plan and proposed, as a substitute, arousing the states against national aggression.

Therefore, both he and Madison wrote a series of resolutions in which the effect of the Federalist theory upon the states was shown. Those written by Madison were adopted by the Virginia assembly, while Jefferson's were adopted in the Kentucky legislature, in December, 1798. In both the assertion was strongly made that the Constitution was a "compact" and, therefore, that the states were the final judges as to whether or not the compact had been broken. Copies of both series were sent to the legislatures of all the states. They did not meet with formal approval, but they served their purpose of protest, and gave the new Republican party a basis of discussion.

Though Adams had lost popularity both with the moderate Republicans who had supported his French policy, and with the extreme Federalists who had hoped for war, his renomination was a political necessity. He was, therefore, named by a caucus of the Federalist members of Congress with Charles Cotesworth Pinck-

**Plans for
an English
Alliance**

**The Virginia
and Kentucky
Resolutions**

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ney for Vice-President. The Republican caucus again named Jefferson for President, and Aaron Burr, of New York, for Vice-President. Adams, who had in anger once charged Hamilton and his friends with being a "British faction," and was in turn attacked, did not receive the full support of his party. A plan to give Pinckney the larger number of votes was suggested, but when the election had been held, it was found 73 Republican electors had been chosen to 65 Federalists.

The makers of the Constitution, not foreseeing the development of a party system, and expecting the electors to exercise unrestricted individual choice of the whole field, had provided that each elector should vote for two men. The one who received the highest number of votes should be President, and the second Vice-President. In case "there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes" the election was to be thrown into the House of Representatives, voting by states. The party system had made such progress, however, that all Republican electors voted for Jefferson and Burr.

The House of Representatives chosen in 1798 had a Federalist majority, and in a caucus that majority threatened to elect Burr, regardless of the fact universally acknowledged, that the people meant to

choose Jefferson. Possibly Burr had made some sort of promise as to his course as President. At any rate he was not so much dreaded by the conservatives as Jefferson. Hamilton did not trust Burr, and believed that Jefferson would be irresolute and conciliatory, thus opening the way for Federalist success later. He was able to prevent the selection of Burr who, of course, became Vice-President. This occurrence led to the adoption of the twelfth amendment to the Constitution in 1804, which provided for the present method of election.

Hamilton's hope, that the Federalist party would again come into power after Jefferson's term, was disappointed. The party never elected another President, though of course the Federalist attitude has been represented in other

parties. It had given the country twelve years of good administration, and had established the government firmly on its feet, but there were too many diverse elements in the country to make possible a national government meeting the strict Federalist ideal. There was so much local feeling, and so little spirit of nationality, that a united government such as they desired was not acceptable. The people preferred a party which expressed individual and local rights, rather than the centralised power of the nation.



THE OLD CITY HALL, NEW YORK, WHERE WASHINGTON WAS INAUGURATED



MARTHA WASHINGTON, THE HOSTESS OF LONG AGO

During Washington's two administrations the seat of government was first in New York and then in Philadelphia. Above is a picture showing Mrs. Washington receiving at one of her levees. All the formality and stiffness of court manners were observed, and no one was admitted to the receptions who was not dressed according to rules of etiquette which had been established. This formality was abolished when Jefferson came to the Presidency, as being incompatible with republican simplicity. Jefferson went so far to the other extreme that he gave offense to foreign diplomats.



THE PERIOD OF VIRGINIA ASCENDENCY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL SPIRIT UNDER THE VIRGINIA PRESIDENTS

WHEN Thomas Jefferson became President in 1801 he had lived fifty-eight years, thirty of which had been almost continuously devoted to public service. He had been several times a member of the Virginia legislature, and of the Virginia conventions; had served as a member of the Continental Congress, and of the Congress under the Confederation. He had been governor of Virginia, Minister to France, Secretary of State and Vice-President. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, and of the statute for religious freedom in Virginia. The founding of the University of Virginia was to come later, in 1819. These three acts he himself selected as those he wished to be commemorated in his epitaph.

Though wealthy and connected by blood with the Virginia aristocracy, he was a democrat in theory and practice. He accepted the broadest theories of the rights of man, and eschewed all form and show. An ardent student all his life, there was hardly a division of human knowledge of his time with which he did not have some acquaintance. He was a skilful horseman, a dead shot, and devoted to music, architecture and botany. He was not an orator, but he was magnetic in conversation, and especially gifted with the pen.

The extreme Federalists viewed his election to the Presidency as a national calamity. They thought, or claimed to think, that his views were those of the extreme French Revolutionists. The orthodox shrank from the liberality of his religious views, which

Thomas Jefferson, the Democrat

The Policies of the New President

were practically Unitarianism. All awaited his inauguration and the announcement of his policy with interest. When the time arrived, he came to Washington, to which place the government had been moved the year before, and at the appointed hour walked to the Capitol to take the oath of office. All of the forms and ceremonies which Hamilton had devised were discarded. He no longer used the state carriage and six, but travelled as any other citizen. The formal levees were abandoned. Instead of speaking to the Congress in person, he sent his message in writing.

The principles of government he announced are inseparably connected with his name. Reduced to their lowest terms they were that the government should prevent men from injuring one another; should leave them free to do their work as they pleased, and should not take from them in taxes more than was absolutely necessary. In other words, the best government is that which governs least, and interferes least with individual initiative and preference. In beginning his administration, he did not show intense partisanship. A few Federalists were removed, and when vacancies occurred Republicans were appointed, with the expressed intention of equalising the two parties in public office. The Judiciary Act which established new and apparently unnecessary Federal courts was repealed, and Jefferson refused to deliver commissions to some of the judges appointed by Adams in the last days of his administration.

Through his Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, one of the ablest men who has held that office, he began

Gallatin and the National Debt

to reduce the National Debt which had grown under the Federal regime. Gallatin estimated that it could be paid in sixteen years. The government was regarded as a private citizen who had lived beyond his means, and had become involved. Hamilton had not regarded a permanent debt as an evil, but had seen the advantage of securing the support of those who held the obligations of the government. The revenues of the national government seem small in these days of great appropriations, as the receipts expected for the first year of the administration were only \$10,500,000, of which \$4,500,000 went to pay interest. Gallatin and Jefferson were able to reduce the appropriation for the army and the navy, and devoted the saving to the payment of the principal of the debt. Within the next seven years, in addition to the purchase price of Louisiana (about \$15,000,000) the debt was reduced more than \$22,000,000 in spite of the repeal of the internal revenue taxes.

Jefferson hated war, and reduced the army and navy to insignificance. As mentioned in a previous chapter, American ships had been forced to buy immunity from the attacks of the North African pirates.

The War with Tripoli

As often happens, the demands of the blackmailers increased, and a policy of resistance was forced upon the government. From 1801 to 1805 American war vessels were usually in the Mediterranean, and a desultory conflict was carried on with Tripoli, resulting in the humiliation of that country, and the cessation of the payment of blackmail. A greater advantage was the training and experience gained by the American naval officers, Preble, Bainbridge, Decatur and their associates who were to be heard from later.

The control of the mouth of the Mississippi was the all-important question in the western country. When it was

learned that Louisiana had passed from Spain to Napoleon, who planned to build up a great colonial empire, the seriousness was realised. Jefferson said that if France persisted, "We must marry ourselves to the British fleet and

nation," for the power which held the Mississippi was necessarily our enemy. Jefferson then made overtures for the purchase of the Isle d'Orleans and West Florida, and sent James Monroe to



STEPHEN DECATUR

Decatur entered the Navy in 1798, served in the War against France, and won applause in the War against Tripoli. During the War of 1812, while in command of the "United States" he captured the "Macedonian." Later he was captured himself.

France to negotiate. Meanwhile Napoleon had been forced by the negro revolt to abandon Santo Domingo, and to realise the futility of his dreams of a colonial empire without that island. He therefore suddenly offered all Louisiana for about \$15,000,000, of which \$11,000,000 was to be paid in cash, and \$4,000,000 in the claims of America against France. The American minister, Robert R. Livingston, though not authorised to make the purchase, agreed. The treaty was dated April 30, 1803, though not signed until later, after Monroe's arrival.

The purchase more than doubled the area of the United States, for Louisiana embraced, at the very least, the western slope of the Mississippi Valley. From it, thirteen states have been made in whole or in part. Jefferson at first was staggered by the immensity of the proposition, and doubted his power under the Constitution to make the purchase. A hint that Napoleon might

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change his mind led him to put aside his idea of securing an amendment to the Constitution, expressly countenancing the purchase. The words of the treaty also gave a sort of claim to West Florida, and to Texas, still held by Spain, and this was later used to advantage. In 1810, with the consent of the inhabitants, a part of West Florida was annexed to the territory, and in 1813 more was added by force.

The great territory was divided for purposes of government into two parts, the Territory of Orleans, south of 33°, and the District of Louisiana above that line. During the years 1804-1806 the unknown portions were explored under the excellent leadership of Meriwether Lewis and

**Lewis and Clark
Explore the
New Northwest**

William Clark. The expedition ascended the Missouri, crossed the Rocky Mountains, floated down the Columbia to the Pacific, and retraced the greater part of their route, almost without loss. Much valuable information was gained, and a part of our later claim to the "Oregon Country" was based upon the exploration. Another army officer, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, explored the headwaters of the Mississippi, and later ascended the Arkansas, penetrated the Rocky Mountains and finally reached the Rio Grande.

Jefferson had gained the goodwill and support of many Federalist voters, but some of the extreme leaders of the party saw peril to the older states in this great addition to national territory, and plotted the secession of the New England states, if New York could be induced to join. Burr, the Vice-President, whose influence in the Republican party had been much reduced by the skilful management of Jefferson, was induced to accept the Federalist nomination for governor of New York in 1804. Through the efforts of Hamilton, who did not approve the purpose of the plot, Burr was defeated, and revenged himself by killing Hamilton in a duel a few months later. The scheme of secession was abandoned for the time.

The purchase of Louisiana also brought trouble to the Republican party. The strict constructionists felt that Jefferson had deserted them, and began to

oppose some of his measures. They were not strong enough to affect the election of 1804, in which Jefferson was overwhelmingly successful, and did not really seriously hamper him afterward, except perhaps in postponing the acquisition of West Florida.

Meanwhile Burr, who had lost all chance of political advancement at home, began to intrigue in the West. The ex-

**The Con-
spiracy of
Aaron Burr**

act nature of his plan remains a mystery to this day.

He seems to have hoped to carve out for himself a state in the West, but whether from Mexico or from Louisiana is not definitely settled. He seems also to have had hopes of detaching Kentucky and Tennessee from the Union. He began to recruit a force of adventurers, in 1806, and seems to have expected to take New Orleans with the complicity of General James Wilkinson, who had been appointed governor of the territory. Wilkinson's earlier treachery to the United States in receiving a pension from Spain was not yet known. Volunteers to Burr's standard came so slowly that Wilkinson, possibly to save himself, gave information which led to Burr's arrest, though it is not certain that Wilkinson knew Burr's plans, if indeed, he had definite plans. The man who had been Vice-President of the United States slept in the common jail in Richmond while awaiting trial for treason. Through the technical rulings of Chief Justice Marshall, he was acquitted, but his career was ended.

It may be well here to say something of John Marshall, whose influence upon the government of the United States has

**Chief Justice
Marshall and
the Constitution**

been so exceedingly important. He was a Virginian, who served in the Revolutionary War,

and had been an influential member of the Virginia convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1798, became Secretary of State in 1800, and just before the expiration of Adams' terms of office in 1801, was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This office he held until his death in 1835, and his decisions are the basis of American Constitutional law.

From the first he magnified his office,

and assumed for the court powers hitherto unsuggested. He had a definite theory of government and his decisions fortified that theory. In 1803, in *Marbury v. Madison*, he claimed it to be in the power of the Court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. In 1810, in *Fletcher v. Peck*, an act of a state legislature was likewise annulled. In later decisions the supremacy of the Federal courts over state authorities, and the right to transfer a case from the state to the Federal courts was declared. The doctrine of the implied powers in the Constitution was strongly maintained, and the control by Congress of navigable waters was established. The decisions of the Court under his influence steadily looked toward the nationalisation of the government, and discouraged the strict constructionist view of the Constitution. To Jefferson, and the other Virginia Presidents, he seemed the most dangerous of all the enemies of the people.

In domestic matters, the administration of Jefferson had been exceedingly popular, but foreign affairs were more difficult. England and Napoleon were now engaged in that contest which was to change the map of Europe. Since Napoleon controlled almost the entire European seacoast, the United States was practically the only neutral power in the carrying trade. England had begun, in 1806, by declaring a blockade of the European coast from the Elbe to Brest, though it was to be strictly enforced only between Ostend and Havre. Napoleon retorted by declaring a blockade of the British Isles by his Berlin Decree, dated November 21, 1806. England countered the next year, by declaring a blockade of every port in Europe from which the British flag was excluded, unless the ships first entered and cleared from a British port. The purpose was to force Napoleon to withdraw his decree. Napoleon's answer was the Milan Decree, December 7, 1807, in which he declared that any vessel which had submitted to search, or which had entered a British port, was subject to capture. The only ports open to American ships were those of Sweden, Russia and the Turkish Empire. The United States had

been doing a large part of the carrying trade, and hundreds of new ships had been built for the purpose.

Though both belligerents were equally unjust, the navy of France had been almost destroyed at Trafalgar, and only privateers did much damage. England, however, could not pretend to exercise a close blockade, and therefore adopted a practical blockade of American ports. Ships were stopped outside of New York, Boston, or in Chesapeake Bay and sent to Halifax to the prize court. Moreover, the great increase in American ships created a great demand for sailors, and consequently higher wages were offered. Thousands of British sailors, owing to the hard conditions in the British navy at the time, deserted, and took service in American merchant ships. England, and for that matter all Europe, held the doctrine of inalienable citizenship, that is, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," while the United States recognised transferable citizenship.

British ships, therefore, claimed the right to stop American ships, and to take from them sailors of British birth, even though naturalised citizens. Undoubtedly many of these "impressed" seamen held forged naturalisation papers. Many were bona fide citizens, however, and some native born citizens were also impressed, as the British officers were not always discriminating. The crowning insult occurred June 27, 1807, when the British naval vessel, "Leopard," fired upon the unprepared American frigate, "Chesapeake," and took four men from her crew, three Americans, and one British deserter. This insult to the American flag led to a cry for war with England. The Federals wished for war with France.

Jefferson wished war with neither, but if he had been desirous of a contest, the navy was so small that war would have been futile. He, therefore, endured the insult as Washington and Adams had done, and determined to use economic measures to force the belligerents to reason. Already the Non-Importation Act, which forbade the importation of British goods which could be produced at home, or procured elsewhere, had

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been passed in 1806, but the enforcement was postponed until the next year. Jefferson's pet project, the "Embargo Act," was now passed (December 22, 1807), as a substitute for war. It forbade any vessel to leave the United States bound for any foreign port. Jefferson believed that England must have our goods, and awaited the effect of the Act with confidence. The result was unsatisfactory. Much hardship for England resulted, but with the existing composition of Parliament, public sentiment had little effect, and the British policy was not modified. The New England ship owners preferred to take the risk of capture, rather than to have their trade cut off altogether, and Federalists again talked of the secession of New England. There was so much evasion of the Act that several supplementary acts were necessary. The agricultural sections suffered also, because of the low prices for their products which had previously been exported.

Three days before the end of his second term (March 1, 1809), Jefferson was forced to sign a bill repealing the Embargo Act, except as it applied to Great Britain and France and their dependencies. This is known as the "Non-Intercourse Act." The President was authorised to suspend the Act toward whichever power first removed the restrictions on our commerce. Our products went to Great Britain and France indirectly, and this fact, of course, made the Act ineffective. The Embargo, in fact, increased Great Britain's share of the carrying trade. The increasingly difficult problem was left to his successor. This was the only defeat suffered by Jefferson in his dealings with Congress during the eight years of his administration. No President, before or since, has ever exercised so great an influence upon the legislative department.

Jefferson undoubtedly might have been elected for a third term had he so desired, but preferred to retire, thus adding force to the example of Washington. His successor, largely chosen through administration influence, was James Madison, also of Virginia. The Federalist candidates were again C. C.

Pinckney and Rufus King. Madison, like Jefferson, had seen much public service. Born in 1751, he had been graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) in 1771. He took part in preparing for resistance to Great Britain, and in 1776 was a member of the Virginia Convention to frame a constitution for the state, and later several times of the Virginia Assembly. His experience in Congress showed him the shortcomings of the Confederation, and led him to advocate a stronger government. He was influential in the proceedings which led to the calling of the convention to draft the Constitution of the United States, and was prominent in that body. Few, if any, men had more influence in securing the ratification of that instrument by the states. From 1789 to 1797 he was a member of the House of Representatives, and definitely parted company with Hamilton and his associates.

Though he had advocated the adoption of the Constitution, he was not willing to see the government become entirely centralised, and therefore demanded the strict construction of the instrument. He was the author of the Virginia resolutions, with their bold assertion of "States' Rights." Under Jefferson he had served as Secretary of State, and had done his best to avoid war. This policy he continued after he became President. The long continued arrogance of the British authorities finally brought an open rupture in spite of all his effort.

The case of the Chesapeake had not been forgotten. George Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, was tactless, and increased the irritation by his disregard of the "niceties of international courtesy."

Not only did he show no real desire to disavow the incident, but caused a proclamation to be issued threatening all British-born sailors on American or other foreign ships, as traitors, and ordered naval officers to take them from foreign ships. A treaty, however, was negotiated by David Erskine, the British minister, which Canning repudiated, and sent Francis James Jackson, an obstinate and disagreeable man, who immediately

insulted the President. He was informed that no further communication could be held with him, but remained in the country for a year, giving all aid possible to the Federalist enemies of the President.

Napoleon's attitude was also irritating. Just after the Embargo Act he seized and sold all ships in French ports flying the American flag, on the ground that since they could not legally leave America, they must be outlaws, or else British ships in disguise. Many of these ships had not been in America since the passage of the Embargo. He seized every American ship which had entered a port of France, or one of her dependencies, between May 20, 1809, and May 1, 1810, as retaliation for the act forbidding French ships to come into American ports.

Napoleon, a little later, pretended to repeal his Berlin and Milan Decrees. The Macon bill, No. 2, had removed the domestic restrictions on foreign trade, but made a deliberate bid for the removal of the English and French restrictions, by authorising the President, whenever one nation removed them, to declare non-intercourse with the other. The President, accordingly, declared non-intercourse with England. That nation declared that Napoleon's Decrees were not actually revoked, but the public feeling in the United States was now so strong that little further attempt to conciliate England was made. As a matter of fact, Napoleon's promises were intended to bring American ships to French ports, where they were seized.

The feeling of exasperation toward England found expression through a group of young men just coming to the front. They called themselves Republicans, but they voiced considerably more nationalistic feeling than those who had lived a considerable part of their lives before the adoption of the Constitution. They had seen with humiliation the results of the policy of neutrality, and were restless under the continued rule of the conservative Virginians. Some of the Western members — for in addition to Vermont and Kentucky, Tennessee (1796) and Ohio (1803) had been added

The "War Hawks" Demand Satisfaction

to the Union — knew and cared little about foreign commerce, but they did have love for the Union. In South Carolina, the exclusive power of the aristocracy around Charleston had been broken, and new men were coming to the front. Langdon Cheves, William Lowndes and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Henry Clay and R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, and Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, were some of this group who came to be known as the "War Hawks." These men felt that the humiliating situation of the United States was intolerable, and that only by showing a readiness to resent insult, could they force proper recognition of their national dignity. Cheves and Lowndes were willing to fight either France or England, while Calhoun wished to fight both. England had done the more damage, however, and the impressment of American seamen seemed to be a more grievous wrong than anything France had done.

Just then two incidents occurred which decided the question. The British frigate "Guerrière" was on the American coast impressing sailors, and the American frigate "President" was sent out to protect American ships. The "President" failed to find the "Guerrière," but fell in on the night of May 16, 1811, with the "Little Belt" and was fired upon. The heavier guns of the "President" disabled the smaller vessel in a few moments. In the same year the Indians in Indiana Territory formed a league under the leadership of two brothers, Tecumseh, and "The Prophet," to prevent further settlement of their country by the whites, and announced that they would resist occupation. General William Harrison, Governor of the Territory, marched into the region and was attacked at Tippecanoe Creek. The Indians were finally drawn off, though for a time it seemed as though they would be victorious. The Indians had received arms and ammunition from Canada, and some believed it better to fight Canada openly, and perhaps annex some of the territory.

Influenced by the losses of the merchants and manufacturers, the English government finally realised the bad pol-

THE PERIOD OF VIRGINIA ASCENDENCY

War is De-
clared Upon
England

icy of continuing to exasperate the United States, and made tardy apology for the affair of the "Chesapeake," but it was too late. On April 1, 1812, President Madison recommended an embargo of sixty days to allow our ships to get home, and on June 1, unwillingly sent a message to Congress suggesting that it consider the question of war. On June 18 war was declared. Five days later, June 23, England suddenly withdrew the Orders in Council, though only two months before Lord Castlereagh had almost insultingly refused. It may be mentioned here that the other neutral power, Russia, which had suffered during the contest took the opposite course and joined England against Napoleon, in order to protect its commerce with the United States. The United States, however, did not ally themselves with Napoleon, but fought independently. In fact, Madison was inclined to agree with Calhoun that war should be declared against both England and France.

The country was not a unit for war. New England was strongly opposed, partly for commercial reasons, and partly because of the enmity of the Federalist leaders for their opponents. The hatred felt by some of the older leaders for the Virginia succession, as they called it, can be compared with that of the Tory for the Whig during the Revolution, and for much the same reasons. The Federalists represented a large share of the property of the country which they felt was threatened by the Republicans. The economic reason for the opposition of New England was the great increase in her carrying trade caused by the Napoleonic Wars. It seemed better to run the risk of capture, rather than to give up the trade altogether. Insurance and high freight rates could compensate for the risk of capture.

Another factor in the opposition to war was the jealousy of the new states of the West, of which there were now five, as Louisiana became a member of the Union in 1812. The admission of this state, which lay for the most part beyond the Mississippi and was a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was par-

The West
the Warlike
Section

ticularly obnoxious to the New England Federalists, and threats of secession had been freely made. They felt that their section would soon be overwhelmed by the growth of the West, and thereby lose influence in national affairs. As it was thirty-three Federalist Representatives issued an address declaring the war unjustifiable. It was vainly hoped by the Federalists, even after the Declaration of War, that the elections of 1812 would change the political situation. Madison was opposed for the Presidency by De Witt Clinton of New York as a peace candidate endorsed by the Federalists. Madison received ninety of the votes of the original thirteen states and Clinton eighty-nine. The five new states cast their thirty-eight votes for Madison and war.

In this as in all other wars in which the United States have engaged, they were unprepared. Jefferson's policy had starved both army and navy, and this policy had been continued by Madison. The army, a mere handful, was badly equipped and poorly officered. The Revolutionary officers had, for the most part, passed away and their places had been largely taken by untrained political appointees. The navy was small. Jefferson's gunboats, built for coast defense, proved useless, but the frigates built under Adams were good, and carried heavy guns for their size. The officers were excellent, and some of them had had experience in the Tripolitan War. Their crews were first class. Authority was given to increase the regular army and to call out 50,000 militia.

In pursuance of the policy of economy and non-interference with the affairs of the people, practically all taxes except the duty on imports had been abolished, and import taxes were precisely those which shrink in time of war. Congress was at first unwilling to levy excise and direct taxes, and with difficulty was able to place loans, since the traders of New York and New England, who had the most ready money, were opposed to the war. Another reason for the difficulty was the fact that the charter for the Bank of the United States had not been renewed when it expired in 1811. Worse than all these the management of the war was inefficient. Madison was em-

phatically a man of peace, and was timid and irresolute. The War and Navy Departments were both inefficiently managed until near the end of the war. The militia in the beginning proved unreliable and the officers were more inefficient than those of the regular army.

The general plan of the war was to break the line of the Canadian defenses, which stretched from Lake Champlain to Mackinac. It was believed that many Canadians would join the American forces. The authors of the plan forgot that much of the region had been settled by banished Loyalists with an intense hatred toward the United States. The Canadian militia fought stubbornly, and was better led, during the first part of the war at least. It was expected the American ports would be block-

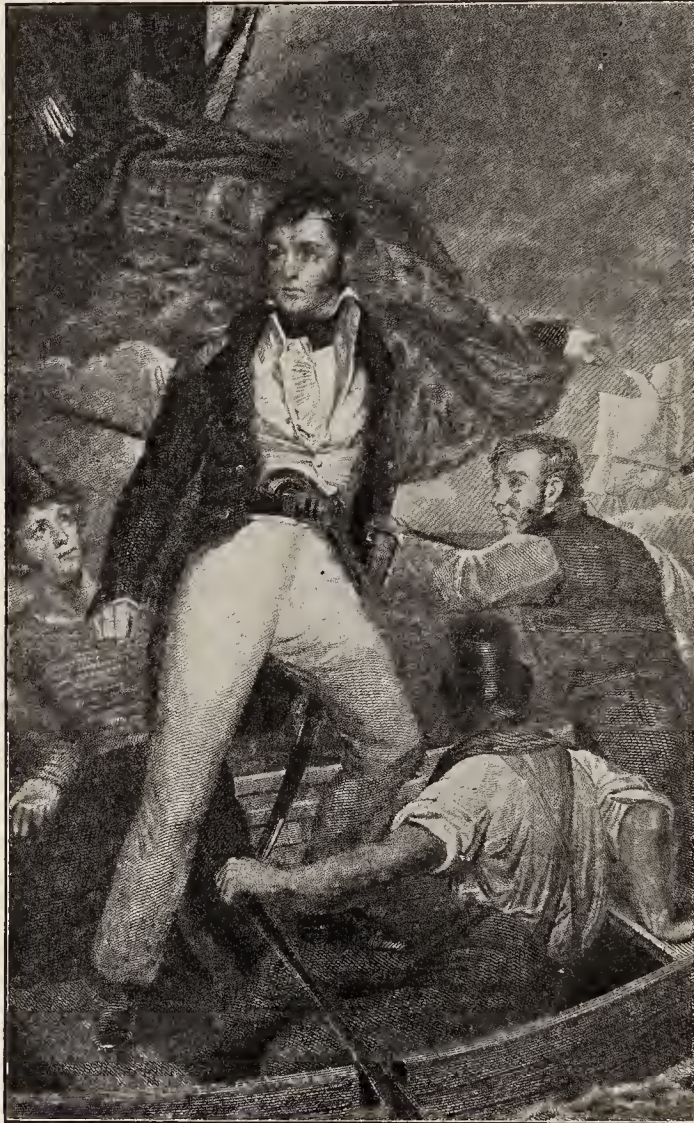
aded, but it was hoped that successes on land would counterbalance this disadvantage. If Spain entered the war as the ally of England, an expedition against Florida was planned.

Though little hope of naval success was entertained, the few American ships were allowed to put to sea, and soon astonished both British and Americans. The "Constitution" sank the "Guerrière;" the "Wasp" shattered the

"Frolic," but both prize and captor were taken by a British vessel before they could reach an American port; the "United States" brought the "Macedonian" into Newport; the "Constitution" defeated and burned the "Java" in December, while early in 1813 the "Hornet" destroyed the "Peacock." In these cases, the American ships usually had heavier guns than their opponents, but the skill with which they were handled, and the marksmanship astonished the world, which had grown to believe the English invulnerable on the sea.

This success could not continue. The unfortunate frigate "Chesapeake" was surrendered to the "Shannon" after a sharp fight, during which both commanders were severely wounded. Lawrence's dying words, "Don't give up the ship," became the watchword of the American navy. An overwhelming British fleet was sent to America, and the American ships were either taken or blockaded.

General William Hull, a Revolutionary veteran, surrendered Detroit with valuable stores to an inferior force, thus giving up Michigan territory, and allowing a British party to penetrate to the present site of Chicago. The col-



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

Entered the navy in 1799, and served in the War with Tripoli. During the War of 1812, he was assigned to duty on Lake Erie in 1813. Building a fleet, he shattered the British forces September 10, 1813, and enabled General Harrison to gain success on land.

Brilliant
Successes
on the Sea

Disgraceful
Defeats
on Land

THE PERIOD OF VIRGINIA ASCENDENCY

umn sent against Montreal did not even penetrate Canada. On the Niagara frontier, the United States forces were repulsed by an inferior force at Queens-town, though the British commander, General Brock, was killed.

The next year opened with an American defeat at Frenchtown on the River Raisin, where the defeated Americans were massacred by the Indians. Commodore Chauncey, in command of a small American fleet on Lake Ontario, and General Dearborn, burned the public buildings at York, now Toronto. While the fleet and army were absent, Sir George Prevost, the British Governor and Commander-in-Chief, attacked Sackett's Harbour, but was beaten off. General William Henry Harrison, the victor of Tippecanoe, now in charge of the Western army, appeared before Fort Malden in September. The British had lost control of Lake Erie, through the victory of Lieutenant O. H. Perry, and therefore burned Detroit and Fort Malden and retreated. Harrison pursued to the River Thames, and at Moraviantown defeated the British and Indians.

This victory was made possible by the American control of Lake Erie, which was secured by the defeat of a British squadron, under Captain Barclay, by an American fleet under Lieutenant Perry as mentioned

above. Perry had been sent at his own request to the Lakes, and built his small ships in a few weeks from green timber.

A number of skirmishes on the American border yielded little success to the American arms, as their superiority in numbers was nullified by poor leadership. Another expedition against Montreal failed for the same reason, and the skirmishes at Chrystler's Farm and Chateaugay reflected much credit on the Canadian troops. However, the Revolutionary and the political generals were being retired for young men.

The year 1814 was marked on the Niagara frontier by the battle of Chippewa (July 5), in which the Americans had the advantage. On July 25 was fought the battle of Lundy's Lane, the most stubbornly contested engagement

of the war, though indecisive in result. The British General Prevost, already mentioned, with more than 10,000 men, some of them Wellington's veterans, descended Lake Champlain to attack



GENERAL JACOB BROWN

General Jacob Brown was born in Pennsylvania, but in 1812 was living in New York State. During the War of 1812 he served on the Canadian frontier, and distinguished himself at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. From 1821-28 he was commander of the United States Army.

Plattsburg, held by General Alexander Macomb, with a much smaller force. Before attacking, he awaited the result of the contest between the opposing fleets on Lake Champlain. The American commander Captain Thomas Macdonough, showed unusual ability, and defeated the larger British fleet, whereupon General Prevost ignominiously retreated.

Meanwhile, during 1814, a British fleet and army had been harassing the coast of the United States. Washington was taken, August 24, after slight resistance by the militia at Bladensburg, Maryland. The unfinished Capitol, the President's House and other public buildings were burned in retaliation for the burning of York and Newark. A combined land and naval attack on Baltimore was repulsed, and the expedition sailed

The Tide
Begins
to Turn

away to take part in an attack on New Orleans. A considerable portion of Maine was seized and held during the war, with the expectation that it would be held after the war, as a correction to the inconvenient and illogical boundary line by this time recognised.

Earlier in the year, General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee had disastrously defeated the Creek Indians at Horse-

The Battle of New Orleans

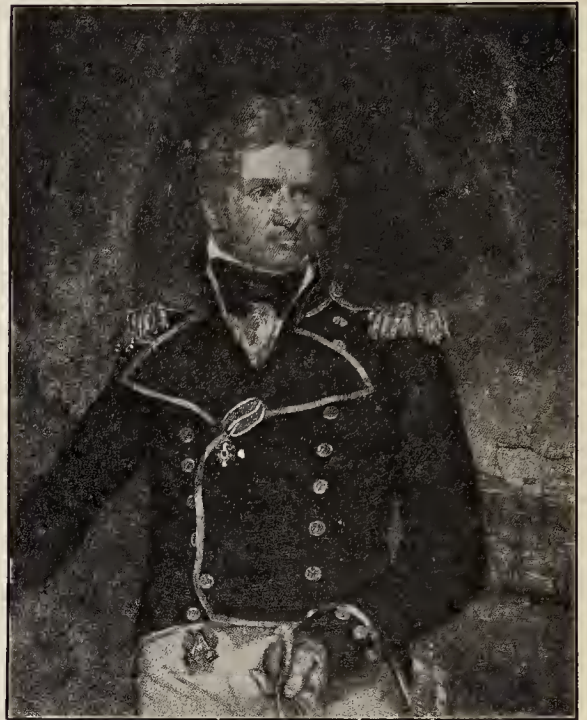
shoe Bend on the Alabama, and had been placed in command of the district. When he heard of the English expedition to take New Orleans, and perhaps the whole Louisiana Purchase, he hastened to New Orleans, calling on the militia in the Southwest to come to the rescue. Jackson was popular and the response was immediate. The British fleet reached Lake Borgne, and a part of the army landed on December 23, only to be attacked by Jackson and driven back. Sir Edward Pakenham, the British commander, delayed until all his artillery was landed, giving Jackson time to construct rude but effective defenses, on which the British artillery made little impression. Disappointed in his attempt to take the position without loss, an attack was made January 8, 1815. The result was disastrous. The frontiersmen, skilful marksmen all, mowed down Wellington's veterans, who made two desperate assaults, losing both their commander, and the second in command. The British loss was nearly two thousand men, the American, unbelievably small, about twenty.

All this shedding of blood was useless, for peace had been declared two weeks before, but there were no cables to bring the news. In

Provisions of the Treaty of Ghent

1812 the Tsar of Russia had offered mediation. Madison accepted, and sent a commission to St. Petersburg the next year. The English refused to accept mediation, but offered to treat directly. The commission was composed of John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, and negotiations began at Ghent in August, 1814. England demanded a change in the boundary lines, and the creation of a buffer Indian state in the Northwest, as well as sev-

eral other concessions. The United States commissioners demanded abandonment of the right of search and impressment. The people of England, however, wished peace, and it was plain that it could not be gained upon such



THOMAS MACDONOUGH

Entered the navy in 1800, and did good service in the War with Tripoli. During the War of 1812 he won a brilliant victory over a British fleet on Lake Champlain, September 11, 1814, and saved Plattsburg.

terms. Therefore, the British gave up one of their demands after the other, until on December 24, conditions were restored to the status before the war. Provision was made for the appointment of commissions to decide certain unsettled boundaries, and both parties agreed to endeavour to suppress the slave trade. Not a word was said about the right of search or of impressment, but the close of the Napoleonic wars, and the consequent reduction of the British navy automatically destroyed the practical importance of these questions.

Peace was received with rejoicing by the people, and it also put an end to what might have been a vital movement in our history. The opposition of the New England Federalists to the war has been already mentioned, though the treasonable correspondence of some of the leaders was omitted. Early in the war, an address written by Senator



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

In the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, the untrained frontiersmen under the command of Andrew Jackson gained a decisive victory over a body of Wellington's veterans led by Sir Edward Pakenham. It was long a favourite story that the American defenses were constructed of cotton bales. Jackson did, in fact, use any material he could find.

Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts, demanding a convention to consider the attitude of Massachusetts was circulated in that state, but did not gain sufficient support.

In 1814, after the capture of Washington, while Maine was held by the British, the governor asked whether the militia called out to defend Massachusetts would be paid by the national government.

**The
Hartford
Convention**

He was informed that only militia in the national service would be so paid. Great indignation was excited by the answer in Massachusetts, and men claimed that the state had been abandoned. On October 17, 1814, a convention of the New England states was called by the Massachusetts legislature, to meet at Hartford on December 15. Massachusetts sent twelve delegates, Connecticut seven, and Rhode Island four. New Hampshire and Vermont refused to send delegates, but two citizens appointed by mass meetings in New Hampshire appeared and were admitted. A representative chosen by a Vermont town was also given a seat.

These men deliberated in secret, until January 5, 1815, and issued a report criticising the administration, the war, and the general course of the Republican party. The doctrine of States' Rights in the boldest, most uncompromising form was stated. Seven amendments to the Constitution were demanded, and lengthy reasons for their adoption were given. Pending the consideration of these, the Convention recommended to their states that drafts for military service be resisted; that the states demand that a part of the taxes paid in any state be paid over to the state for the purpose of defense; and that a body of militia be formed which might be sent to the aid of one of the other states on request, to resist in repelling invasion.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution were: (1) the abolition of slave representation; (2) that no new state be admitted without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses; (3) that no embargo be laid for a longer

**Amendments
Proposed by the
Hartford Convention**

period than sixty days; (4) that non-intercourse be not declared "without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses;" (5) that war be not declared without the same majority; (6) that no person naturalised in the future be eligible to hold any office under the United States; (7) that a President should serve only one term, and that no state should furnish two Presidents in succession.

The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut sent delegates to lay the demands of the New England states before Congress, but before they were presented the news of the battle of New Orleans and of the treaty of Ghent had been received, and the delegates to the Hartford Convention woke to find themselves regarded as traitors to their country. Just how far the Convention had intended to go is not known. The Federalists had several times threatened disunion, once in 1803 at the Purchase of Louisiana. The next year George Cabot, who presided over the Hartford Convention, said that in the case of war with Great Britain "separation will then be unavoidable." In 1811 on the question of the admission of Louisiana as a state, Josiah Quincy said that if the bill passed it would be the duty of some of the states "definitely to prepare for a separation amicably if they can, violently if they must." At the beginning of the war of 1812, many New Englanders wished to be formed into a state with Canada under British protection. Whether these leaders of secession could have gained a majority of the votes of their states for any project of separation or secession is another question.

The grievances of New England, or at least of the New England Federalists, are indicated in the report of the Hartford Convention. It is stated plainly that only those engaged in commerce are capable of making regulations regarding it. The jealousy of the Virginia regime is obtrusively shown, but most irritating was the inevitable decline of the proportional influence of New England on account of the growth of the West, "which may hereafter discern (as it has heretofore) benefits to be derived to them by wars and commercial restric-

tions." The amendment regarding foreigners is perhaps directed against Gallatin, and partly at the editors aimed at under the Sedition Laws, some of whom held offices under government. The ill-repute of the Hartford Convention killed the Federalist party, though it continued to send a few members to Congress for several years afterward. The epithet, "Hartford Convention Federalist," became a term of reproach.

In spite of the strained relations of New England with the remainder of the Union, the war was decidedly beneficial, as marking a decided advance in national life. The war had been badly managed, but still it had been better managed than the Revolution. The exploits of the navy on the sea and on the Lakes had helped to create a feeling of national exaltation. The victory at New Orleans helped to blot out the shame of Detroit and Washington. A new set of popular heroes, American to the core, had arisen to take the place of the older men, who had lived their formative years as colonists. These men remembered the final success of the Revolution rather than its difficulties and discouragements, and were thoroughly optimistic as to the future.

A greater influence was the future separation from the complications of European politics. For more than twenty years the country had been forced to suffer the indignity of being a pawn upon the chessboard at which France and England played. This detachment was partly due to the assertion of national dignity by the war; partly perhaps to the fact that Europe now had a long period of peace, and the people of the United States were left in isolation to work out their own problems, and to develop their own resources. The carrying trade was much injured. It had developed enormously because of the European wars, and when peace was restored the European countries took back the trade they had relinquished. As a consequence many of the ports of New England which had been important began to decay, unless they turned to manufacturing. The embargo, the partial blockade, and the heavier duties imposed during the war forced the

country to rely to a larger extent upon domestic manufactures. Many of the New England shipowners had turned their capital into manufacturing, and we shall see that section through the imposition of protective tariffs grow to depend upon the national government. From being the hotbed of secession, it changed through economic interest into the stoutest defender of Nationalism.

The remainder of the administration of Madison, and the eight years of Monroe's which followed were uneventful, and yet during that period were the beginning of movements, divisions and tendencies which have profoundly influenced the history of the United States. The Federalist Party died, it has been said, because the Republican Party adopted its principles. This is not quite true, and yet the leaders of Jefferson's party moved far away from his theories. Even Jefferson himself, as shown by the Purchase of Louisiana, the Embargo, and other commercial acts, found himself forced to compromise with his own teachings. It is proper to say that a certain "irreducible minimum" of nationalism was attained. The Republican party, or the Democratic-Republican, as it was beginning to be called, advanced upon Federalist ground, and absorbed the great mass of the moderate members of that party. A few irreconcilable members remained outside the ranks, but their only associates were a few irreconcilable Republicans, of whom John Randolph of Roanoke was a type. These opposed the extension of the influence and power of the national government, at the expense of the individuals and of the state, and could, therefore, have no fellowship with the extreme Federalists. Their ideas were as opposite as the poles.

But the union of all parties was only apparent. Two great questions, so great that separate treatment must be accorded them, were coming to the front. These were westward expansion, and along with it, first the struggle for the extension of slavery, and then its defiant losing battle, ending finally in secession and the forcible extinction of slavery.

With the end of the war, the attention of Congress was turned to domes-

tic affairs. An unusual proportion of able men was in the membership of the Fourteenth Congress which met for its first session in 1815. A few of the strong men of the older generation still held their places, among them Nathaniel Macon, John Randolph, William Pinkney and Rufus King—but the control was in the younger men, who immediately began work upon four great measures.

The first was in the care of the army and navy. They were determined that the country should not again be found so unprepared. The navy was increased, and an adequate standing army provided for. The military academy at West Point, which had been established in 1802, too late to be of much use in the war of 1812, was reorganised under an act passed in 1812.

The opponents of the Bank of the United States, as has been mentioned, had prevented a renewal of its charter in 1811, and the lack of a central financial institution was felt at the beginning of the war. Therefore a second bank was incorporated in 1816, with a capital of \$35,000,000, one-fifth to be owned by the government. The main office was at Philadelphia, but nineteen branches were established. This bank was to be the repository of public funds, and might issue notes to the full amount of its capital.

The third important measure was the frank adoption of the principle of a protective tariff. The first tariffs had been for revenue chiefly, and the rates of duty had been low. During the war the rates had been doubled, and the newly established manufacturing interests asked that they be continued, to guard against the expected flood of English goods. Certain products of the South and West were included, and the controlling idea was the building up of American industries. Some of the "war hawks," including Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, were favourable. Opposition came from two sources, the strict-constructionist Republicans, and the remnant of the Federalists who represented the shipping industry, for the manufacturers of New England had

**Spirit in
The New
Congress**

**Political Poli-
cies After
the War**

**The Adoption
of the Principle
of Protection**

not yet secured entire control of the politics of that section, and the ship owners favoured free trade.

The fourth plank committed Congress to the policy of "internal improvements" at public expense. The question of transportation was vital to the progress of the West. Already appropriations for a national road across the Alleghenies had been made, and now Calhoun brought forward a bill to set aside the bonus of \$1,500,000 which the Bank of the United States was to pay for its charter, together with the dividends on the stock owned by the government, as a fund for constructing roads and canals, to bind together the East and the West. Madison, possibly alarmed by the growth of the national spirit, vetoed this "Bonus Bill" on the last day of his term, on the ground that such expenditure was not permitted by the Constitution. However, he suggested that an amendment to the Constitution be proposed, as he approved of the purpose.

At the election of 1816 James Monroe of Virginia, the Secretary of State, who had been nominated by a caucus of the members of Congress, was chosen President over Rufus King, who received the votes of thirty-four Federalist electors. Monroe received one hundred and eighty-three votes,—all except those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware.

Monroe was the third President in succession to be elected from Virginia, and met with some opposition on this account. He was born in 1758, attended William and Mary College, which he left to enlist in the Continental army, where he attained the rank of major. He studied law with Thomas Jefferson, served in the Virginia legislature, and in the Congress of the Confederation. He opposed the ratification of the Constitution by Virginia, on account of its centralising features, but was elected United States Senator in 1790. In 1794 he was sent as Minister to France, but because of indiscreet approval of the work of the Convention then ruling France, was recalled just before the end of Washington's administration. From 1799 to 1802 he was Governor of Vir-

ginia, had been special envoy to France and to Spain, and Minister to England, but his career as a diplomat was not particularly successful. During the greater part of Madison's administration, he was Secretary of State, and during the last months of the war was also in charge of the War Department.

Monroe was a good administrator himself, and chose a cabinet of exceptional ability, three of whom were candidates for the Presidency when he retired. Early in his administration he made a tour of the country, examining the different military posts and studying their possibilities of defense. Wearing as he did the undress uniform of a Revolutionary officer, he appeared to the people as a link with the past, and his manner and bearing gained many friends. Jefferson is reported to have said that if his soul were turned wrong side out not a spot would be found upon it. At the end of his first term, no candidate was nominated in opposition. One elector, however, threw away his vote, declaring that no one except Washington should have the compliment of a unanimous election.

Three questions of first importance for the future came up during Monroe's Presidency. These were the acquisition of Florida, the assertion of the "Monroe Doctrine," and the Missouri Compromise.

Spain was occupied with the revolt of her American possessions after 1810, and during the War of 1812, the Indians of Florida had been troublesome. Jefferson and Madison had both wished to purchase the province, but had met with refusal to sell. In 1817 Spain made an offer to exchange Florida for Louisiana, which of course could not be considered, but gave opportunity for further negotiations. Just then complications arose. Andrew Jackson, the victor of New Orleans, had been ordered to chastise the Seminole Indians, who had been making raids upon territory claimed as a part of Georgia. He followed them into Florida, took Pensacola and St. Marks, and hanged two British subjects who had been inciting the Indians. Difficulty with both England and

Andrew Jackson Invades Florida



THE OLDEST HOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES

This old house in St. Augustine, Florida, has stood the wear and tear of nearly 350 years. It once housed the picturesque monks of St. Francis, who only vacated it when Sir Francis Drake and his band of adventurers burnt and sacked the little town. Of all the houses, it alone remained, and, so far as the walls are concerned, is the same to-day as it was in those troublous times. The top is modern.

Spain was feared, but John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, took the position that the British subjects were where they had no business to be, and that they were engaged in unlawful enterprises. He maintained to Spain that virtual anarchy reigned in Florida and that the government by failing to maintain neutrality had brought the American invasion. Spain knowing that she could neither defend the province, nor maintain order, offered to cede all Florida, if the United States would assume claims amounting to about \$5,000,000. The province was finally handed over to the United States July 17, 1821, and Jackson became the first governor.

The revolt of the Spanish-American possessions had meanwhile been so successful that Congress authorised the

President to recognise those which had gained their independence. This was done in 1822. In Europe, however, the Holy Alliance, composed of the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia and Austria, organised ostensibly to bring peace and goodwill upon the earth, was repressing every rebellion against absolute monarchy. France, as agent of the Alliance, was crushing the revolution in Spain in 1823, and Adams, and others, feared that the Spanish claims in the New World would be transferred as payment. England was unwilling to see the Spanish-American colonists reduced to their former condition or turned over to France, and suggested that the United States join in a protest.

Monroe and other advisers thought favourably of the proposition, but Adams

was more farsighted. He feared that England had designs upon Cuba, and knew that Russia was seeking to extend her claim to the western coast of North America. He was also certain that England, because of her own commercial interests, would discountenance the movement to reconquer the Spanish colonies, without a formal agreement. He, therefore, persuaded the President to avoid the English alliance and to act independently. The policy was agreed upon by the President and the cabinet, was announced in the annual message to Congress in 1823, and came to be known as the "Monroe Doctrine."

The message stated clearly and unequivocally two interrelated propositions, one relating to the attitude of the United States toward the affairs of Europe, and the other to the position of the United States toward European interference in the Western Hemisphere. "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do . . . With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity more nearly connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all impartial and enlightened observers." The message also states the position of the United States as being that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers." Again the message goes on, "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The effect of the doctrine was immediate and has been lasting. Russia agreed to a satisfactory boundary of her

Immediate Effects of the American Policy claims to the western coast, the Holy Alliance did not attempt to reduce the Spanish colonies. Spain later acknowledged their independence, and England made no attempt to extend her possessions, though that country gained the chief commercial advantage. No European power, except France in the case of Mexico, has ever attempted openly to defy the principles laid down.

The third great question had to do with slavery. The whole matter of the growth of slavery, following the invention of the cotton gin, and the consequent expansion into the western territory will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. It is enough to say here that in December, 1818, the territory of Missouri applied for admission as a state, since it had 60,000 inhabitants, which had been recognised as the number entitling a territory to admission. In February, 1819, an amendment was offered to the Enabling Act, prohibiting further introduction of slaves, and providing for gradual emancipation. The act as amended passed the House, but was rejected by the Senate.

Discussion was bitter, and it seemed that a deadlock would ensue. As it happened, Maine was just then asking for admission with the consent of Massachusetts. The "Missouri Compromise" was then brought forth. It provided for the

The Missouri Compromise. admission of Maine as a free state, and that slavery should be prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana

Purchase, north of 36° 30', the southern boundary of Missouri. The question broke out again at the next session of Congress on account of the Constitution of Missouri, which forbade the immigration of free negroes. On the one hand, it was held that Missouri was violating the Constitution of the United States; on the other hand, had Congress any right to make conditions for a State? Henry Clay brought forward a resolution that the clause should never be construed to abridge the rights of any citizen of the United States. Further discussion of the slavery question in Congress was postponed for years, and Clay gained the title of the "Pacifactor."



THE GROWING WEST

THE WEST CHOOSES A PRESIDENT AND REORGANISES THE GOVERNMENT

THE national election of 1824 has been unjustly called the "Scrub Race" for the Presidency, perhaps because of the number of contestants. In fact, never in the history of the United States have so many men of extraordinary ability been offered to the people for their choice. In the previous chapter, the fact that the "Era of Good Feeling" was more real than apparent was mentioned. It was a period of formation of parties on issues that were not yet clear. Each of the factions selected its strongest man to make the race.

Since the time of Jefferson, the members of a party in Congress had nominated a candidate for the Presidency in caucus. Since, in 1824, all the contestants claimed to be Republicans or Democratic-Republicans, a new method was found, that of nomination by the legislatures of the various states. Only the friends of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, long Secretary of the Treasury, attended the last caucus of members of Congress ever called to nominate a Presidential candidate. He represented the older Republican principles, had to his credit years of effective service in public affairs, and was, in a general sense, the administration candidate. John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, the son of John Adams, represented the broader nationalistic policies of the government, and as Secretary of State, under Monroe, had admirably conducted the foreign affairs. He was also the only northern candidate.

Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the former leader of the "War Hawks," speaker of the House of Representatives, the cham-

Two Western Candidates Appear

pion of the protective tariff, or "American System" as he preferred to call it, the peacemaker in the dispute over Missouri, represented much the same principles as Adams, but his popularity in the West, it was thought, would carry him to success. Another candidate, however, appeared to divide the suffrages in this section. This was Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, the daring Indian fighter, the victor of New Orleans, the invader of Florida, and later military governor. His civil service had been short and undistinguished. His education was slight, his political principles were unknown, but to the people of the West, and of the less settled parts of the older states, he was one of themselves. A fifth candidate, and not the least able of them all, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, saw that the number of southern candidates was too large, and gracefully agreed to take the second place.

The election was hotly contested, and, as was expected, no one of the candidates received a majority of the electoral vote. Jackson developed unexpected strength, and received ninety-nine votes. He had divided the West with Clay, had encroached upon Crawford's southern strength, and had gained votes from the middle states. Evidently a new force had arisen in American politics. Adams had the solid strength of New England, a part of New York and some scattered votes, eighty-four in all. Crawford, the heir of the Virginia tradition, could muster but forty-one, while Clay had thirty-seven.

The election went to the House of

Representatives voting by states, and limited by the Constitution to the three with the greatest number of votes. Clay's influence, since he could not be voted for himself, would evidently be potent. Between Adams and Jackson there could be to his mind but one choice. The former represented to a great extent the same principles and policies which he had advocated, while Jackson, the rude soldier, prone to act first, and seek to justify his action afterward, was already an object of dislike. The influence of Clay was thrown to Adams, and he was chosen, receiving the votes of thirteen states, while Jackson received seven and Crawford four.

Clay was immediately appointed Secretary of State by Adams, and this gave rise to the suggestion of a corrupt bargain between the two, for which there seems to be no ground. The story of the bargain was fervently believed, however, by thousands of Jackson's followers, who persuaded themselves that he should have been chosen, since he received a larger number of electoral votes than Adams. This fixed belief, which could not be overcome, was held by Jackson himself, who never forgave Clay and Adams for "cheating" him of the Presidency in 1825.

Now it is worth while to attempt to discover the reason for such devotion on the part of so many of the voters of the United States. To find a satisfactory answer, we must go back of the Revolution, into colonial history. The first settlements naturally were near the seacoast, and there, of course, population remained denser than in the "back country" and wealth likewise was greater. Counties — or towns in New England — were smaller in size in the East, and this fact, together with the restrictions in suffrage, gave the control to the eastern part of every colony or state. Jealousy of the older settlements developed long before the Revolution, and in the older settlements the unrepresented element was sometimes restive. At the time of the Revolution, every one of the original thirteen states was in control of a minority of the population. In every one there were restrictions on the suffrage, designed to protect the property-

owning conservative classes. In the beginning, the governor was elected by the legislature, or by a special council, in a majority of the states, and this provision was retained in some until late in the nineteenth century. The first state to adopt full manhood suffrage was Vermont, also the first state to be admitted under the Constitution. It was followed by Kentucky and Ohio, and every new state afterward admitted contained a similar provision. In other words, Tennessee was the only western state with restricted suffrage, and here the restriction was slight.

Before the Revolution, daring spirits had broken over the western barriers into the Mississippi Valley, or had followed the Mohawk Valley toward the West. The settlement of Vermont, was the settlement of the back country up the Connecticut River. The motives for movement beyond the frontier were largely economic, but the desire to escape from the restrictions of the older, richer East also had a large influence. In the wilderness, the old gradations of rank could not hold. A new set of qualities was needed there. Men who had been deemed of little account in the older settlements found themselves in their new environment, and became leaders. A certain fierce democracy developed in the West, which has had an enormous effect on our American life. Later we shall see that the sentiment was modified in the Southwest, by the extension of the plantation system, but in the early days of the Republic, conditions in Alabama and Mississippi were not essentially different from those further north.

Naturally means of education and culture were less developed than in the older communities, and the children of the pioneers grew up with even less reverence for precedent and tradition than their fathers. Leadership in this new West depended more upon personal qualities than upon the advocacy of certain principles of government, or policies in finance. These had their influence, of course, but a man of force might change his position on any of these questions, and still carry his following with him. Men voted for a man rather than for a measure.

THE GROWING WEST

The growth of democracy in the West had its influence upon the East. Some of the states saw their population stand still on account of the emigration to the rich lands, which could be had almost for the asking. The laws governing the public lands first passed were modified in the line of greater leniency until, in 1820, it was provided that tracts as small as eighty acres might be bought at a minimum price of \$1.25 the acre.

The East Loses Population to the West

Any man who could lay his hands on \$100 could thus come into possession of a homestead. The immigration into the West had been large before. Ohio had increased in population from 45,000 in 1800 to perhaps 400,000 in 1815, and now since land could be had upon terms which practically amounted to a gift, the tide continued to swell. There was as yet little influx of population from Europe. The West gained from the East, and by its own phenomenal birth rate, while between 1800 and 1810, Massachusetts grew only from 422,000 to 472,000.

The common man who remained in the East demanded a larger share in the state governments. Everywhere suffrage restrictions were modified or swept away altogether. State after state adopted a more liberal constitution. In the cities which were now growing up, shrewd politicians began to organise the less prosperous, and less educated portion of the community, since it now had votes. Democracy began to be articulate. The theories of the Jeffersonians were being put into practice. Jefferson believed in democracy, but in practice during his administration a group of highly trained, thoroughly educated men put into actual effect their interpretation of the rights of the people. The people now were beginning to follow leaders of their own kind.

The American began to be bumptious and self-assertive. All the failures of the war of 1812 were forgotten in the light of New Orleans, which

The Self-Assertive American

seemed to show that special training was not necessary for success in military operations. The idea that the United States could "lick all creation" came to be the feeling in the optimistic West. This con-

tempt for the expert in military affairs was transferred to civil administration. By a strange confusion of thought which still persists, it came to be believed that if all men were "created free and equal," then all men were equally qualified for public office. If this proposition be accepted, then it was the privilege of the people to choose men of their own kind to hold these offices, and it was also proper for any man to aspire to any office. Conditions of existence on the frontier fostered the growth of this feeling. It was not uncommon for a man to try a half dozen different occupations in turn, and to succeed in one for which he had had no training.

We have already mentioned the admission of Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1803), and Louisiana (1812). Before the end of Monroe's administration, these had been followed by Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Maine (1820), and Missouri (1821),—eleven new states, two of them across the Mississippi River, or to be accurate, the greater part of Louisiana lay west of that stream. There remained east of the Mississippi the territory from which Florida, Michigan and Wisconsin were subsequently erected into states, while beyond the Mississippi, great areas of the Louisiana Purchase were yet undeveloped.

Such were the conditions when John Quincy Adams came to the Presidency. Perhaps no incumbent has ever been better qualified from the standpoint of

The Character of President Adams intellect, character and experience, but as in the case of his father, personal qualities stood in the way of success,

even had the times and circumstances of his election been different. At the age of eleven, he accompanied his father, John Adams, to Europe. At fifteen he was private secretary to the United States envoy to Russia. Afterward he was graduated at Harvard, studied law, and took an interest in politics. In 1794, at the age of twenty-seven, he was appointed Minister to the Hague. He became United States Senator from Massachusetts in 1803 as a Federalist, but supported Jefferson in the Embargo, contrary to the views of his party. In

1809 he was appointed minister to Russia, where he remained over four years, and during this time was a member of the commission to negotiate the treaty of peace after the war of 1812, and was then transferred to England. In 1817 he was recalled to become Secretary of State, which office he held for eight years.

Absolutely honest, thoroughly conscientious, almost fanatical in his respect for the dignity of the United States, he was willing to give laborious days to the problems which confronted him. He was, however, cold, irritable, suspicious, and possessed in an unusual degree the faculty of creating antagonism in the breasts of those with whom he came in contact. He gave offense when he granted a request; he aroused positive enmity when he refused. Few men have deserved better of their country than he; few were less suited to the difficult task set before him.

Clay's entrance to the cabinet reduced the number of factions, and Crawford's strength was transferred to Jackson.

**Parties Again
Begin to
Develop**

During the whole administration, men were classed as "Jackson men" or "Adams men." Calhoun, the Vice-President, also joined the Jackson forces, and the policy of the combined forces was to break down Adams, by opposing his recommendations. The policy of the President was strongly nationalistic. He advocated internal improvements, the establishment of a national university, scientific exploration, and generally an extension of the functions of the national government.

Much denunciation followed, and Adams himself contributed nothing to aid his followers. He attempted to make his administration non-partisan, but the personal touch was lacking. He refused to turn his opponents out of office, thereby alienating supporters, but gaining no gratitude from the men whom he had retained. His conscientiousness in guarding the rights of the Creek Indians alienated any supporters he might have gained in the Southwest. His appointment of delegates to a Pan-American Congress, composed chiefly, of course, of the Spanish-American Republics, which

had lately gained their freedom, was made the occasion of violent attacks. The question of slavery was brought into the controversy, and it was made to appear that he sympathised with the negro republic of Haiti.

The tariff question again came up. The tariff of 1816 was largely a Southern measure, but experience had shown the Southerners their error. The development of manufactures had compensated the eastern states for their losses of population to the West,

but in the South there was no great compensation. After the sharp panic of 1819, all their products sold at lower prices, but there was no corresponding reduction in the prices of the goods they were forced to buy. The western farmers were compensated for the lower prices of agricultural products by the fact that the improvement in transportation, constantly going on, lowered the prices of the goods taken into the western country, and the constant increase in the population raised the prices of their lands. The magic of Clay's oratory made them all believe in the "American System," and they were willing to vote for tariffs. So the tariff bill of 1824, with somewhat increased duties, was passed by a vote which was not entirely sectional. New England was not enthusiastic over the bill, which gave rather more protection to raw materials than to the manufactures of that section, and the South was not yet united against the protectionist idea.

After this Act went into effect, however, growth of anti-protectionist sentiment in the South was rapid. In 1827 an attempt to lay still heavier duties, particularly upon woollens, was defeated by the vote of Calhoun, as Vice-President, but the manufacturers held a convention during the summer, and determined to try again. At the next session a bill, designed to distribute the benefits of protection was framed. Duties were raised on molasses, hemp and wool in order to gain the votes of the agricultural sections producing these articles, while the duties on woollens were not proportionately increased. The supporters of Jackson wished no tariff bill passed since he had shown strength both

**The Tariff
Becomes a Sec-
tional Issue**

THE GROWING WEST

The "Tariff of Abominations"

in the North, already protectionist, and in the free trade South. It was expected that the New Englanders and the representatives of the cotton states would defeat the bill, and therefore Jackson would not lose friends. New England, from which he could expect no support, would be blamed for the defeat by the agricultural regions which were offered protection. New England, however, under the leadership of Daniel Webster, who now came out as an advocate of protection, voted for this "Tariff of Abominations" as it was called, and the bill was signed by President Adams. John Randolph caustically said that the bill had to do with "manufactures of no sort or kind but the manufacture of a President of the United States." The vote was almost entirely sectional, but the bill was not a Jackson measure. His northern supporters generally voted for the bill, his southern friends against it, and his popularity was not diminished.

Calhoun had been forced, by the logic of events, from championship of nationalism into an attitude of opposition. He had come to believe that "the separate geographical interests are not sufficiently guarded." In 1826-27-28, the legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina and Alabama, had protested against the principle of protection. Calhoun, therefore, prepared a paper, later to be known as "The South Carolina Exposition," setting forth his views. This was presented to the South Carolina legislature as a committee report. In it he took the ground that the Union was a compact between the states, which had, in the Constitution; given instructions which they wished carried out; and that if the Federal government, which was simply the agent of the states, exceeded the instructions, the act was void, and that the only judge of the violation of instructions was the state. No action on the paper was taken at the time, as all were awaiting the result of the Presidential elections of 1828.

Probably no President has ever been more scrupulous in the use of patronage than Adams. The various attempts to discover corruption in the civil service

were futile, but the discussion of the number of office holders, and what might happen if they should all be rascals, led many in the remoter districts to believe that they were all rascals. Since his supporters held that Jackson had been defeated by a corrupt bargain, it logically followed that the subordinates of these traders must also be corrupt, and should be dismissed and replaced by representatives of the people. Undoubtedly there was some cause for irritation. The civil servants of the government had been generally appointed from the "upper classes," and had thought of their positions as permanent. Many were old and irritable, and perhaps were not so courteous as they might have been. All of these things taken together drew many to believe that it was essential that the rascals be turned out.

Jackson's popularity had undoubtedly increased during Adams' administration. His managers had been shrewd, and he

had borne himself with restraint and dignity. Many, who had heard the stories of his ungovernable temper and of his brutality, were charmed by his simple kindly manners. The Adams and Clay men, who called themselves National Republicans, had not a single definite policy with which to appeal to the people. The contest sifted down to the question of who should run the government, rather than to any question of principles. In the election, Jackson received 178 electoral votes, and Adams 83. The popular vote was 547,276 to 508,064.

The vote which Jackson received was made up of diverse elements which were to be consolidated into the Democratic Party as the organisation was to be hereafter called. There was first the West, solidly. Vermont and Maine, though new states, had been absorbed into the general scheme of New England life, though Jackson received one vote from Maine; but the other nine new states voted for Jackson. Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, more or less the heirs of the Virginia tradition, also voted for him, while South Carolina, because of the nomination of Calhoun for Vice-President, and because of Jackson's southern birth, also was found in his column. In addition to these,

Pennsylvania cast the twenty-eight votes of that state, and New York twenty of the thirty-six for Jackson. In these states the strength of the party lay in the poorer and more discontented part of the population. To Martin Van Buren is given the credit of swinging such a large part of the vote of New York.

The new President had been born in North Carolina sixty-two years before. His early advantages were of the slightest. He gained some knowledge of law,

and became District Attorney of the western district, now Tennessee, where his career

was turbulent. He was elected the first Representative of the state on its admission into the Union (1796), and almost immediately afterward (1797) became United States Senator. The next year he resigned to become a judge, which position he held until 1804. As major-general in the militia, he volunteered in the War of 1812, and fought the Creek Indians. On being appointed major-general of the United States Army, in command of the Department of the South, he defended New Orleans against British attack. For this exploit he was voted the thanks of Congress and a gold medal. Later he chased the Seminole Indians into Florida, and almost involved the United States in war with both Spain and Great Britain. On the organisation of Florida, he was appointed governor, but soon resigned.

His whole career had been tempestuous, and arbitrary acts, for which he never attempted to make excuse, had been frequent. His will was iron, his temper easily aroused, and he never forgot an injury, real or fancied. His self-esteem was large, but he could be reached by flattery. His judgment of men was largely influenced by their attitude toward him, but he stood by his friends. When he chose he bore himself with a simple dignity which would have adorned a court. He was honest, fearless, and tender toward the weak who reached his sympathies.

The Presidential reception after the inauguration had been a dignified function, which those without social or political importance did not attend. At the inauguration of the "people's Presi-

dent," the unmannerly mob invaded the whole White House, stood upon the furniture with their muddy boots, crowded around the refreshments to such an extent that the furniture was upset, dishes smashed, and some persons were injured in the crush. To the Easterners, as to the Federalists at the election of Jefferson, a generation before, it seemed that the end of the world had come.

On the frontier, a man must do many things, and it is only a further step to the belief that a man can do anything, — an idea of which the United States is not

yet rid. So the friends of Jackson's the administration came in Theory of hordes to help the new Public Office President by accepting of-

fice. Jackson himself said: "The duties of all public offices are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." The policy of the administration toward the civil service was soon announced. There should be rotation in office, and all offices should be filled by friends of the administration. Party service was a criterion of fitness, and so hundreds of editors were appointed to offices, the duties of which they expected to perform in addition to spreading the Jacksonian theories. Generally, as might have been expected, a great number of the new appointees were incompetent, and the country suffered. As a matter of fact, Jackson did not make a clean sweep of the office-holders; but he did remove more than all the Presidents before him taken together.

With Jackson came a more efficient party organization. The system of representative conventions succeeded party caucuses, nominations by state legislatures, and the agreement of a few of the leading men, though it was the anti-Masonic party which held the first convention. Both the "spoils system" and the convention were adopted by the opponents of Jackson, and both became recognised features in American political life.

In Jackson's first message several of his policies were outlined. He indicated his hostility to the Bank of the United States, his doubts about the policy of internal improvements, expressed some rather vague ideas of tariff reduction,

and his opposition to allowing Indian tribes to preserve their tribal organisation in states east of the Mississippi, where their lands were demanded by the whites. In the case of Georgia and the Cherokee Indians, he refused to enforce the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States and allowed Georgia to survey the disputed lands. It was Jackson's idea to transfer the Indians to unoccupied lands across the Mississippi, and lay out an Indian territory. Before the end of his second term the greater part of the eastern Indians, both in the South and in the old Northwest Territory had been so transferred.

The question of internal improvements came to a head by Jackson's veto of a bill to extend national aid to a

Jackson Begins to Oppose Internal Improvements

turnpike road in Kentucky. Since this project was entirely within the state of

Kentucky, it gave Jackson an opportunity to deny that it was a proper object of national aid. At the same time he suggested that if the people were really in favour of such aid, a constitutional amendment should be secured defining the powers of the national government on the subject. The veto helped to turn Kentucky away from the Democratic party, but it was generally well received elsewhere. Congress, however, did not cease to make appropriations for internal improvements, attaching many of them as riders to general bills which Jackson could not afford to veto. The total amount thus appropriated is estimated at \$10,000,000, a much larger amount than had been appropriated under any previous President.

Just now, however, railways were beginning to be built, and they soon proved their superiority to the turnpikes and canals. Jackson's influence was great enough to prevent the national government from assisting in railroad building, though many of them were built wholly or partly by the separate states. Jackson's opposition to internal improvements did not extend to appropriations for rivers and harbours.

The extreme dissatisfaction of South Carolina with the policy of protection has already been mentioned. The lead-

South Carolina and the Tariff

ers of the state had hoped that Jackson, who thought that he had been born in South Carolina, would up-

hold the States' Rights position. Attempts to reduce the tariff, led by George McDuffie, of South Carolina, failed in 1830, though slight reductions were made on some articles which could not be produced in the United States. In the course of the debate Mr. McDuffie declared the tariff of 1828 to be unconstitutional, because it bore unjustly upon the different sections, and the threat of resistance to the execution of the laws was made. Earlier, in 1830 (January 21) the theory of States' Rights had been set forth in the Senate by Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, who had been answered by Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. That state had travelled far from its former position since the days of the Hartford Convention and Webster's argument set forth the theory that the Union was older than the States, and that the sovereignty resided in the people rather than in the states. This would have been strange doctrine to the makers of the Constitution. That it could be argued in the Senate of the United States and meet with expressions of approval there, as well as the country at large, showed how the idea of consolidation had grown.

The South Carolinians had anxiously awaited Jackson's action. An intimation of his attitude was given at a banquet on Jefferson's birthday, April 15, 1830. Jackson stunned the assembled company by offering the toast, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved." Calhoun answered with, "The Union next to our liberty, most dear! May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefits and burthens of the Union." This exchange of sentiments between Jackson and Calhoun was significant, and was so recognised.

Jackson's action grew out of more than one motive. He was southern born to be sure, but of poor Scotch-Irish ancestry. All his adult life

Jackson's Attitude Toward Calhoun

had been spent in Tennessee, which was frontier West at that time,

and in his tastes and sympathies he was much more Western than Southern. These new Western states had been created by the general government. They had neither the history nor the traditions which had created the sense of the dignity of the state of the older commonwealths. Yet Jackson claimed to be a follower of Jefferson, and in his attitude toward internal improvements and the Bank of the United States had expressed sentiments which seemed to show that he shrank from the policy of consolidation, which was the policy of the National Republicans. Just what his action would have been if personal animosity toward Calhoun had not influenced his course, cannot be determined. The circumstances were these.

Jackson appointed as Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, who had married Mrs. Timberlake (better known as "Peggy O'Neill") the daughter of a Washington tavern-keeper. Scandalous stories reflecting on her character were afloat, and she was not received in Washington society. The ladies of the official circle snubbed her openly, and among them Mrs. Calhoun was prominent. Jackson believed the stories to be false, and attempted to prove them groundless. He was perhaps moved to action because of the stories which had been circulated regarding his own domestic relations. He had years before unwittingly married Mrs. Robards before the divorce from her worthless husband had been formally granted. Though free from fault, except perhaps that of carelessness, his enemies had made capital of the occurrence, and he had been much embittered thereby. His wife, whom he tenderly loved, had died only a little while before, and in defending Mrs. Eaton he was half-unconsciously, perhaps, paying tribute to her memory. He seems, however, to have been chivalrous always in his attitude toward women.

It is said that he ordered the Cabinet officers to compel their wives to treat Mrs. Eaton with courtesy. These wise men answered that the social relations of their families were not under their control. Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, was, however, a widower, and

did not have this handicap. He was careful to show Mrs. Eaton particular attention, and immensely strengthened his position with Jackson, at the expense of the more stubborn members, who politically also were followers of Calhoun. Just at this time also Jackson learned that Calhoun, as Secretary of War, in 1818, had proposed to the Cabinet to censure him for his course in invading Florida.

Jackson was indignant, as he was utterly unable to separate official and personal acts. He made a personal matter of any opposition to his policies, and also confused his own personality with the public welfare.

Anyone who opposed him was in his eyes a traitor to the country. He, therefore, wrote Calhoun a note informing him that any further intercourse between them was impossible. A clever scheme was arranged to get rid of the Calhoun men in the Cabinet. The Jackson men presented their resignations. Jackson thereupon called for the resignations of the other members, in order that all might be upon an equal footing. The new Cabinet did not contain a single Calhoun supporter. Van Buren was appointed Minister to England, but his confirmation was defeated by the vote of Calhoun, the Vice-President. It was now war to the knife, and Jackson determined that Van Buren should be the candidate for Vice-President.

The tariff bill of 1832 was largely the work of John Quincy Adams, who had been elected to the House of Representatives, where he remained until his death. The bill corrected some of the worst outrages of the "Tariff of Abominations" of 1828, but sacrificed in no way the protective principle. Revenue was reduced, chiefly by reducing the duty on articles not produced in the United States. In fact it was now announced that the protective principle was firmly established.

Calhoun had been forced to take openly his position as head of the South Carolina Nullifiers. In July, 1831, he issued his "Address to the people of South Carolina," and a year later, a shorter, clearer statement of his posi-

**Jackson's
Anger Against
Calhoun**

**A Tempest
in a
Teapot**

**The Ordinance of
Nullification**

tion. The legislature which met in October, 1832, by a large majority, called a Convention to consider South Carolina's relations with the Union. The convention met, and November 24, 1832, adopted "An Ordinance to Nullify Certain Acts of the Congress of the United States," to become effective February 1, 1833.

The Ordinance declared that Congress, in passing acts purporting to levy duties, "but in reality for the protection of domestic manufactures, and the giving of bounties to classes and individuals engaged in particular employments, at the expense and to the injury and oppression of other classes and individuals . . . hath exceeded its just powers under the Constitution, which confers on it no authority to confer such protection" Therefore, the Ordinance went on to specify that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "are unauthorised by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null, void and of no law . . ."

The Ordinance also strove to prevent any appeal as to its validity to courts of the United States, and finally declared that if the Federal government attempted to use force, South Carolina would withdraw from the Union and "will forthwith proceed to organise a separate government." Two addresses were also issued, one to the people of South Carolina, justifying the action of the Convention, and the other to people of the other states. In the latter was set forth South Carolina's idea that a just tariff must levy the same rate of duty on all articles, and that duty should be no higher than necessary to produce sufficient revenue.

Senator Hayne resigned in order to become Governor of South Carolina, and Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency in order to defend the state in Hayne's place in the Senate. Governor Hayne and the legislature passed the measures necessary to put the Ordinance into effect February 1, 1833, the date appointed in the Act. All awaited Jackson's action, which was not long delayed. In fact he had already begun, in 1832, by ordering the collectors of the ports of South Carolina to collect duties by force if

necessary, and had reinforced the garrison of Fort Moultrie. Naval vessels were ordered to Charleston harbour, and arms were sent to the adjoining state of North Carolina, where they would be convenient. On December 10 he issued a proclamation refuting the right of Nullification, and declaring that he would execute the laws.

Meanwhile some leaders of the party were anxiously seeking some way out of the difficulty. Though no other state formally approved the course of South Carolina, it was plain that Jackson's advanced ground was not pleasing to some of his followers. If an armed clash between the Federal government and the state ensued, it was quite probable that trouble might arise with other southern states. At any rate, future Democratic success would be imperilled if not rendered impossible. Therefore, a tariff bill reducing duties at a higher rate than twenty per cent. to that figure within two years was introduced, but met with considerable opposition.

Meanwhile, on the suggestion of the Virginia legislature, and after consultation with prominent leaders, Governor Hayne suspended the operation of the Nullification Act, until Congress took some action on the tariff bill. The President asked Congress for additional powers to enforce the revenue laws, and a bill commonly called the "Force Bill" was introduced. So much opposition developed to both bills, that a deadlock seemed probable. Just then (February 12, 1833) Mr. Clay introduced his famous "Compromise Bill," gradually reducing the tariff until it should reach a twenty per cent. basis in 1842. Calhoun expressed his approval, and the bill was substituted for the Force Bill. As a sop to the Nationalists, the Force Bill was also passed, and both became law March 2, 1833.

The South Carolina convention re-assembled, expressed its approval of the Tariff Act, repealed the Nullification resolution, but voted the Force Bill null and void, as of course it was, since the purpose for which it was passed no longer existed. Such was

A Compromise is Sought

South Carolina Prepares for the Crisis

The Nullification Ordinance Repealed

the end of the Nullification controversy with which all claimed to be satisfied. The South Carolinians declared that they had attained their purpose; that they did not wish to secede, but only to secure the redress of grievances. Clay declared that he had preserved a considerable measure of protection until 1842, which would otherwise have been lost. The Nationalists were pleased that such strong language had been used, and such vigorous assertions made of the rights of the Union. It is said that Jackson himself afterward regretted that he had been so emphatic, but the assertion of nationalism had been made in language stronger than that used by any President before his time. Jackson, however, was pleased that any chance for the Presidency, which Calhoun might have had, was destroyed by the controversy. Nullification at least was dead. When South Carolina nearly thirty years later thought her grievances too great to be borne, she did not attempt to remain in the Union while denying the right of the national government to enforce its laws.

As mentioned above, Jackson, in his first message, questioned the advisability of re-chartering the Bank of the

United States when its charter should expire in 1836. On subsequent occasions he reiterated his convictions, and suggested as a substitute a bank connected with the Treasury Department, and managed by government officials. The national government held only one-fifth of the capital of \$35,000,000, of the existing bank, and appointed only five of the twenty-five directors. Jackson seems to have had a distrust of all banks. He feared, and with some reason, the influence of this bank in politics, and since he knew that its influence was not favourable to him, he felt that it must be against him. Up to this time all banks had been organised under special acts, and legislatures were careful not to give such a privilege to political opponents of the majority. One bank, still existing in New York City, secured its charter ostensibly as a company to supply water to the city, and the power to engage in the banking business was carefully concealed.

The power of the Bank was very great. At first it made many loans on insufficient security, and during the panic of 1819 was seriously embarrassed. Langdon Cheves, one of the "War Hawks" of 1812,

became President, and by prudent management saved it, but foreclosed hundreds of loans. The Bank thus came into possession of much property which soon appreciated. This fact was remembered and increased the jealousy felt toward the institution as a representative of the "money power," which was already an object of denunciation in the West. The people of the West were told that the existence of the Bank, with its deep rooted objection to loaning, except upon good collateral, prevented the development of the state banks, which otherwise would be able to supply all the money needed to finance the operations of the section. The whole West was in debt, of course, as hopeful new countries always are, and needed money to develop its resources. Men who had spent all their money to purchase their homesteads required more money to improve them. Generally, the East looked upon the Bank as a successful institution performing needed work, but in the West it was regarded with suspicion.

Official investigation of the Bank showed its soundness, and Louis McLane, the Secretary of the Treasury, reported strongly in commendation in 1831. As the Presidential election was to occur the next year, Henry Clay urged Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank, to apply for a renewal of the charter. If Jackson signed the bill, the charter was safe; if he vetoed it, Clay thought that Pennsylvania and perhaps New York, both commercial states, and possibly others as well would be lost to Jackson. The bill to re-charter for fifteen years was passed by both houses in July, 1832, and the friends of the Bank awaited Jackson's action.

The President vetoed the bill in a message, which was a marvel of sense and shrewd demagoguery. Finance was a closed book to the President, as he shows plainly in the message. The Bank was styled a monopoly,

The Bank
and the
"Money Power"

The Bank
Controversy
Arises

The President
Vetoed the
Bank Bill

THE GROWING WEST

worth at least \$17,000,000 to the stockholders, for which they offered to pay \$3,000,000 to the government. He called attention to the foreign stockholders, and appealed to American prejudice against foreigners. Western jealousy of the Eastern states was skilfully aroused. The natural dislike for privileged classes in a democracy was not forgotten, and the poor were excited against the rich.

In the election of 1832 the Anti-Masonic party, which had arisen following the charge that the order had kidnapped and murdered one William Morgan, who had threatened to reveal its secrets, met in the first national convention for the nomination of candidates, and named William Wirt for President. The National Republicans followed with the nomination of Henry Clay. The Democratic Party also held a convention. There was no doubt of the renomination of Jackson, but with some difficulty the President was able to have Martin Van Buren nominated for Vice-President. The well-known rule, requiring that two-thirds of the votes should be necessary for a nomination was established in this first convention.

Jackson and the Bank were the chief issues in this campaign, and Clay's mistake in thinking that a corporation could arouse as much enthusiasm as a dominant personality like Jackson was soon apparent. The change in the popular vote was not great, compared with the election of 1828, but the shifting of comparatively few votes gave Jackson Maine, New Hampshire and New Jersey, while the change in New York to choice of electors on a general ticket, instead of by districts, gave him the whole vote of that state instead of a majority as in 1828. On the other hand, he lost Kentucky, which naturally went for Clay, and South Carolina, just then awaiting his action on the question of Nullification, threw away the vote on John Floyd of Virginia. In all Jackson received 219 votes to 49 for Clay, 11 for Floyd and 7 for Wirt.

Undoubtedly Jackson regarded this election as an endorsement, not so much of his party and of his policies as of himself. He felt that the people had

approved him, and had thereby authorised him to take whatever measures he considered necessary to preserve and extend the rights of the people. This endorsement stiffened him in his dealings with the Nullifiers, and was in his eyes a mandate to destroy the Bank, which he proceeded to do. According to the plan then in operation, the Government maintained a balance of eight to ten million dollars in the Bank and its branches, on which no interest was paid. This was of course a valuable asset. The act chartering the Bank instructed the Secretary of the Treasury to place these "deposits" in the Bank. He might, if he saw fit, place them elsewhere, but in such case must give his reasons to Congress.

In September, 1833, Jackson read to his Cabinet a long statement of his reasons for believing that no more money should be deposited with the Bank. Already he had found Secretary McLane unwilling to issue the order, and had transferred him to the State Department. William J. Duane, who succeeded Secretary McLane, also refused to bend to the will of the President, and was removed from office. Roger B. Taney, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but then Attorney General, is said to have written the statement to the Cabinet. He was transferred to the Treasury, on September 23, and immediately instructed the collectors and other officials to deposit public money in specified state banks, instead of in the Bank of the United States. The balance in the latter institution was gradually withdrawn by drafts for the current expenses of the government, and no more was deposited with it. Over \$600,000 was still in its hands on January 1, 1836, but of course the institution was forced to call in many loans, and much difficulty resulted. Gradually the Bank put its affairs in order, and in 1836 received a charter from Pennsylvania as a state bank.

When Secretary Taney's reasons were presented to Congress the House sustained him by a small majority. In the Senate, however, opponents of the administration were in the majority, and two resolutions offered by Clay

**The Removal
of the
Deposits**

**Jackson and
the Bank in
the Election**

**Jackson is
Censured by
the Senate**

were passed, one declaring Secretary Taney's reasons insufficient, and the other censuring the President for his course. Taney was also refused confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury.

The attempt was made to distribute the funds according to population rather than according to the financial needs of the country. The Bank of the United States had exercised a certain power



THE UNITED STATES BANK AT PHILADELPHIA

The Second Bank of the United States which occupied this building was chartered in 1816 for twenty years. There were nineteen branches in other cities. The hostility of President Jackson prevented a renewal of the Charter when it expired in 1836, and the Bank secured a charter from Pennsylvania.

Jackson, angered and indignant, sent a "Protest" defending his conduct, and declaring that the Senate had no right to censure him, except upon charges of impeachment presented by the House. He further declared that the three Departments of the Government were independent, and that no one had a right to interfere with the other. Senator Benton gave notice that he would move to expunge the resolution of censure in every Congress. At last, in 1837, he was successful.

The banks named to receive the deposits of government money were thought to have been selected partly on political grounds. It was claimed that some were established by Democratic partisans, on the promise of receiving a part of the deposits. All came to be known as the "Pet Banks."

State Supervision of Banks

over the state banks, by refusing to accept the notes of those banks which did not exchange them for specie on demand, or those where doubts as to financial soundness existed. Now banking was turned entirely over to the states, and in many states this meant without any supervision whatever. Large quantities of notes were issued, far beyond the actual needs of the country, and an era of wild speculation ensued. Any one could borrow money upon any sort of security.

In the West, speculation in public lands became a craze. Speculators bought large tracts of public lands and laid out cities, in which not a single house existed. The receipts of the government from land sales, in 1835, were greater than in the ten years previous, and in 1836 the receipts were

An Era of Unrestricted Speculation

more than double those of 1835. The tariff could not be touched until 1842 under the compromise made in 1833, and the revenue of the government far exceeded its expenditures. In 1836 the government had on deposit in the various "Pet Banks" \$50,000,000, upon which large quantities of notes were issued, besides those issued by banks without such deposits.

The last instalment of the national debt was paid in 1835, and receipts continued to be greater than expenditures.

Distribution of Surplus Revenues What to do with the excess revenue was a serious question. Clay had, in 1832, secured the passage of a bill, which Jackson would not sign, turning over the proceeds of land sales to the states. In 1835 Clay introduced another "Distribution Bill," for which an administration bill was substituted. This provided that the surplus revenue of the government on hand January 1, 1837, in excess of \$5,000,000 should be ostensibly loaned to the states, though it was understood that repayment would never be demanded, and as a matter of fact never has been. Distribution was in quarterly installments according to the act, and about \$28,000,000 was paid over. Before the end of the year the panic of 1837 had arrived, and there was no surplus to distribute.

Jackson was shrewd enough to see that the wild speculation could not continue indefinitely. He had a strong feeling that bank notes were not really money, and in July, 1836, caused to be issued the famous "Specie Circular," ordering that only gold and silver be received in payment for public lands after August 15, but bona fide purchases of small quantities might, until December, pay as they had been accustomed. Naturally the circular caused much financial disturbance in the West, and helped to bring on the panic of which more will be said.

Many questions of less importance were discussed during the Jackson regime. The President every year recommended that steps be taken to have the President and Vice-President elected by the people. He also recommended that the President be

limited to one term in office. A bureau of Indian affairs was organised, and the laws regarding patents and copyrights were codified. Two new states, one southern, Arkansas (1836), and one northern, Michigan (1837) were admitted during Jackson's second term. So far as the South was concerned, only the territory of Florida remained from which to make another state. In the north, Wisconsin territory was left east of the Mississippi, and beyond were vast tracts which were beginning to receive settlers. There was considerable legislation regarding public lands, generally looking toward easier terms of sale.

Only the foreign relations of the United States remain to be discussed. Taken as a whole, the administration had been remarkably successful. The discriminating duties in the British West Indies were removed, and valuable trade was regained. A reciprocity treaty with France brought some benefit. Concessions were secured in the Far East, and negotiations with the German states were begun. France agreed to pay the claims for injuries during the Napoleonic Wars, after some friction, during which the Ministers of both countries withdrew from the capitals to which they were accredited.

Under the Louisiana Purchase the United States had some faint claim to the land bordering on the Gulf, as far as the Rio Grande, but with the annexation of Florida, in 1819, the Sabine River was accepted as the western boundary of Louisiana. Before ratification was completed Mexico revolted from Spain, and established a republic. The state of "Coahuila and Texas" was a member of the federation. The country between the Sabine and the Nueces Rivers received a considerable immigration from the United States, and framed a new constitution in 1833. In 1835 Santa Anna set out to make himself dictator, but Texas revolted. At the Alamo a few Texans were massacred by an overwhelming force, but after the defeat of Santa Anna at San Jacinto (April 21, 1836) an independent republic was formed, which was recognised by the United States and several European countries. The

The Texas Question Arises

Other Recommendations to Congress

leaders wished, however, not independence, but annexation to the United States. This Jackson, though the United States had been charged by Mexico with aiding the revolt, was unwilling to advocate, and the Texas question was not settled for several years more.

During the contest with Jackson over the Bank, the opposition in Congress, led by Clay, began to be called Whigs, on the ground that, like the Whig party in England, they stood against executive usurpation, and for the control of the government by the legislative representatives of the people. The Whigs, or National Republicans, as they were still called, were divided. In fact, they were never united, as what they represented was a form of government rather than definite principles. In the election of 1836, no convention was held, no platform adopted, but the anti-administration legislatures of different states nominated men whom they thought could carry the largest number of votes. The aim was to throw the election into the House, where they hoped to defeat the unpopular Van Buren, whom Jackson's influence was able to name as the Democratic candidate. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, who was supposed to have killed the great Indian chief Tecumseh, was the candidate for Vice-President.

In spite of the Whig efforts, Van Buren was elected, receiving 167 votes. William Henry Harrison, the victor of Tippecanoe, received 73; Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee, 26; Daniel Webster, 14; and Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina, 11 — in all 124 votes in opposition.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President, was born at Kinderhook, New York, in 1782, studied law and became prominent in the muddled politics of his state. He served as

Martin Van Buren, the "Little Magician" State Senator, Attorney General, United States Senator, and Governor of New York, and as Secretary of State under President Jackson. The circumstances of his resignation, his appointment as Minister to England, and his election to the Vice-Presidency, have already been mentioned. As the political legatee of Jackson, he inherited the consequences of the reckless financial

and political policies of the previous administration. He had been a close friend and adviser of Jackson, but "Old Hickory" did not take advice, except when it agreed with his own opinions, and Van Buren was forced to face situations which would not have arisen had he been able to influence his strong-willed predecessor.

The great panic of 1837 was on the country before he was inaugurated. The cause was over-speculation. The demand for money had been so enormous that banks had issued an excessive amount of notes. A large part of the population had gone into debt, believing that the rising valuation of their property would make them wealthy. The whole credit system was built upon a very small foundation of specie, and only a slight shock was necessary to cause the whole structure to totter and fall. Two occasions were furnished. The first was the Specie Circular (p. 6213), requiring specie in payment for public lands, and the second was the Distribution Bill (p. 6213). The "Pet Banks" had looked upon the deposits as permanent balances, had loaned them freely, and had issued notes upon them as security. When the surplus was called for that it might be paid to the states, it was necessary to call in loans, and thereby check severely the industrial and financial operations then in progress. Men began to demand specie for the notes which few banks, government depositories or other, could pay. Nearly all the banks suspended specie payments, the notes were depreciated, and thousands were ruined.

Congress was called in special session in October. Clay held that the Specie Circular and the failure to recharter the Bank were the causes of the panic, but the administration would not hear of recalling the one, or of rechartering the other. Van Buren believed the cause was the unwise extension of credit allowed by the banking laws of the states, and that the panic was the natural result. In this view he was supported by Calhoun. The President proposed an absolute divorce between public and private finance. He recommended that Congress make only

The Panic Allowed to Run its Course

gold and silver receivable for debts due the United States, and that the money be cared for by branches of the Treasury Department. Many Democrats were committed to bad banking, and Van Buren lacked the dominating power of Jackson. Congress refused to pass the "Independent Treasury" act, or to make only gold and silver legal tender. The next Congress, however, passed the "Sub-Treasury Bill," as it was then called, in 1840, and provided that after 1840, the government should only receive or pay out specie.

Meanwhile, action of the states had been various. Some, generally in the East, revised the banking laws, to make impossible such inflation as the country had suffered. Others, as in the earlier days, saw no cure for too many bank notes except more bank notes. New banks were chartered, some with the credit of the state behind them. Several of them failed, dragging down the financial reputation of their states with them.

Jackson had appointed to office many men whose chief qualification was their allegiance to him. As the years went on, some of them were shown to be dishonest, while others, through incompetence or neglect, had allowed the affairs of their offices to become so involved that public business was almost at a standstill. Many land officers had used funds in their keeping for private speculation, and found themselves unable to return them. In 1837, it is said sixty-four of sixty-seven land officers had used government money.

The Seminole War, designed to force the remnant of that tribe from Florida to Indian Territory, was expensive, and was exceedingly unpopular in the North. Van Buren's refusal to consider the annexation of Texas brought him additional unpopularity. His course in maintaining the neutrality of the United States in the Canadian rebellion 1837-38 caused the loss of thousands of supporters, chiefly foreigners. Modern opinion rates Van Buren more highly than did his contemporaries. Many of his most

unpopular acts are now seen to have been dictated by wisdom and foresight. Everything he did or did not do then was denounced, and added to his unpopularity.

At the same time no leader wished to take the nomination for a second term from him. The followers of Calhoun

had now reunited with the administration forces, and the platform denied the

right of Congress to appropriate money for internal improvements, to pass a protective tariff, to charter a bank, or to "interfere or control the domestic institutions of the several states." This last phrase referred of course to slavery. The Whigs felt that their opportunity had come. They adopted no platform and looked for a candidate upon whom all could unite. Clay was, of course, the leading candidate, but during his long service he had aroused many antagonisms, he was a Mason, and he had been twice a candidate. So William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the old soldier and Indian fighter, was nominated for President, and John Tyler of Virginia, a former Democrat, for Vice-President. This was the first time a man had been chosen entirely because of availability.

The Whigs, taking a leaf from Democratic methods, conducted a rousing campaign, without reference to any particular issues. Harrison was extolled as the candidate of the plain people, who had lived in a log cabin with nothing to drink except hard cider, while Van Buren had English servants and used gold spoons. Log cabins formed a feature of every parade, hard cider was the popular drink, while thousands sang of

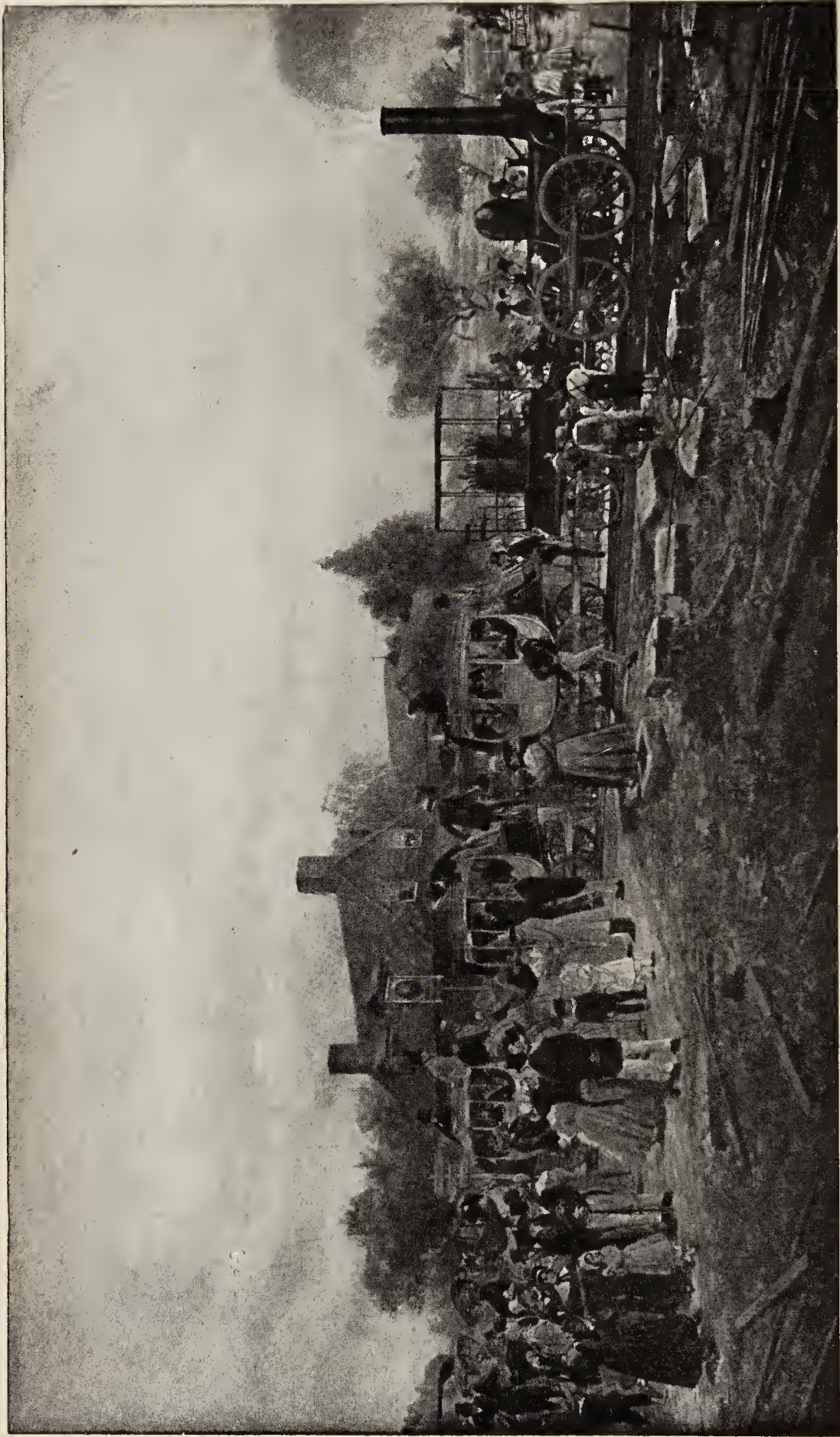
"Tippecanoe and Tyler too,

With them we'll beat little Van."

The methods were successful. Harrison received 234 votes to 60 for Van Buren. The first Whig President had been elected. Meanwhile Jackson in retirement at his country house, "The Hermitage," near Nashville, Tennessee, was frequently consulted by the Democratic leaders until his death in 1845.

Dishonest and Incompetent Officials





THE BEGINNING OF AMERICA'S VAST RAILROAD SYSTEMS: THE FIRST TRAIN IN THE UNITED STATES

Although railways for the purpose of carrying stone, gravel and other heavy materials were used in America as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was not until August 9th, 1829, that Horatio Allen, a civil engineer, took the first regular locomotive, "The Stourbridge Lion," from Hopendale, Pa., to Carbondale. On this trip Mr. Allen ran the engine himself, allowing no one else on it, as he considered the risk of life too great. The line was begun two years previously, and both locomotive and rails were procured from England.

From the painting by E. L. Henry. Copyright, 1900, by C. Klackner, 7 West 28th Street, New York.



SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT TO DESTROY SLAVERY

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was, like Jackson, a product of the West. Though born in Virginia, he had spent the greater part of his adult life in the old Northwest Territory, either as a soldier or an administrator. He had served under General Wayne on his expedition to punish the Indians in 1793, and for several years after had commanded a post in that region. He was the first territorial delegate in Congress, and then became governor of Indiana Territory. In 1811, setting out to punish the Indians, he was attacked at Tippecanoe, and after a fierce fight routed the enemy. He served with credit during the War of 1812, was afterward a member of the House of Representatives, United States Senator, and even had a little diplomatic service as Minister to Colombia. Between 1829 and his election in 1840, he had lived in retirement on his farm. The original farmhouse, to which additions had been made, was built of logs.

When he came to Washington, he was out of touch with the later political developments and issues. Never brilliant, or a student of political questions, he had passed the age of sixty-eight and felt himself an old man. It was said at the time, that the attempt to listen to the horde of office-seekers who swarmed upon Washington made such demands upon his vitality that he was unable to throw off a cold which he had caught on the day of his inauguration. Just one month afterward he died, and John Tyler became the first "accidental President."

Tyler was a Virginian, trained in the same school as Madison and Monroe. He was a strict constructionist, had ap-

proved Nullification, was a believer in slavery, and had opposed the recharter of the Bank. He had been, however, unwilling to submit to the will of Jackson in all things, and resigned his seat in the United States Senate, when instructed

Tyler Not Really a Whig

by the Virginia legislature to vote to expunge the resolutions of censure on President Jackson. He was a Democrat, out of harmony with the dominant wing, rather than a Whig. This fact was perfectly well-known, and he had been nominated for Vice-President for that reason, with the hope that he would attract Democratic voters who had been alienated by Jackson and Van Buren.

The Whigs, under the leadership of Henry Clay, had prepared an ambitious programme. They first repealed the Independent Treasury Act, to which Tyler agreed. Next was a bill to establish a great bank in the District of Columbia with branches in the states. This Tyler vetoed on the ground of conscientious scruples as to its constitutionality. Next they passed a bill for a "Fiscal Corporation," eliminating some of the features to which Tyler had objected.

Tyler Vetoes the Bank Bill

The leaders of the party claimed that he had seen the bill before it was introduced and had approved. Nevertheless this bill was vetoed also. Two days afterward, the whole cabinet, except Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, resigned. Webster was then engaged in negotiating a boundary treaty with Lord Ashburton, the British envoy, and announced that these negotiations made it advisable for him to continue in office. After the treaty had been ratified, he too resigned.

The Whig caucus passed resolutions

declaring that all connection between the members and John Tyler was at an end. Tyler filled his cabinet with men like himself, anti-Jackson Democrats, but gained little thereby. The election of 1842 gave a Democratic majority, but it was not a Tyler majority. His dream of building up a new party came to an end, and for the last years of his administration, he was a man without a party.

The questions settled in the Webster-Ashburton treaty had to do chiefly with the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. The original treaty between Great Britain and the United States was vague on this question, and subsequent conventions had not settled the dispute. The country was now filling up and in 1838-39 the disputed territory was the scene of altercations dignified by the name "Aroostook War." The line as defined by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was a compromise. The treaty also settled the northern boundary of the United States as far as the Rocky Mountains.

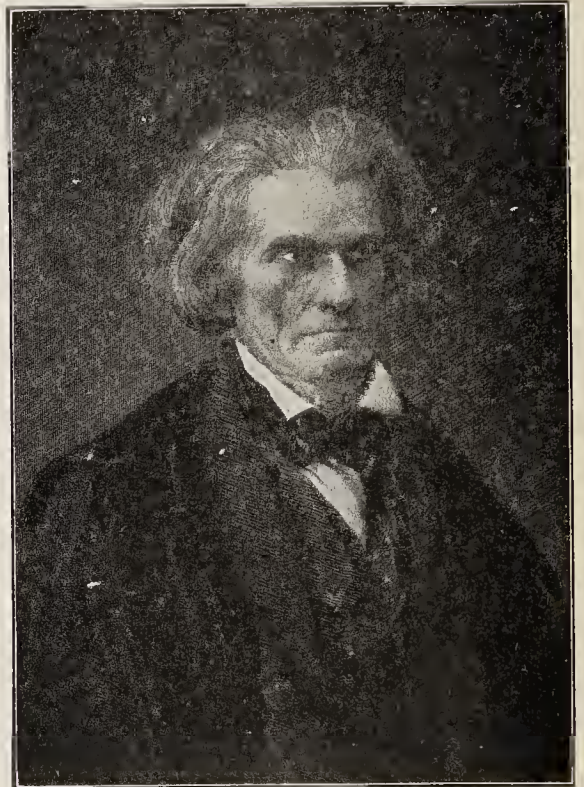
During Tyler's administration, the fact that slavery was one of the great political questions was made manifest. It came through the question of Texas, which had applied for annexation during the previous administration. The politic Van Buren had postponed the matter. In 1843 it was reported that both France and England were interesting themselves in Texas, and that England was about to make a loan to the rebellious republic to free the slaves. Tyler felt that if England advanced this money, her influence would be paramount. Through Calhoun, now Secretary of State, he began to negotiate in secret a treaty for annexation, which the Senate in 1844 promptly rejected. The Northern states were unwilling to add such an expanse of slave holding territory to the Union. The South, hemmed in by the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, was anxious for annexation and expansion.

Though slavery has been hardly mentioned in the narrative of the previous administrations, it must not be understood that the question was not being discussed outside of Congress, even if seldom mentioned within the chambers, and it may be worth while to sum up the

developments during the first fifty years.

When the Constitution was presented to the people in 1787, it seemed that slavery was a dying institution. All the colonies had held slaves, but economic conditions in the North prevented their use to advantage. By judicial interpretation, slavery was declared illegal in Massachusetts in 1783, and was forbid-

The Question of Slavery



JOHN C. CALHOUN

Was born in South Carolina in 1782, was graduated at Yale College in 1804, and from 1811 until his death in 1850, was almost constantly in the public service. He was the great champion of State's Rights.

den by the Constitution of New Hampshire in 1784. Gradual emancipation had been decreed in Pennsylvania in 1780, and in Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784. North Carolina had comparatively few slaves, and the sentiment in opposition in Virginia was strong. George Mason and Thomas Jefferson are often quoted in opposition, and their denunciations of the institution were approved by many slaveholders. The great difficulty was the future of the slave, if emancipated. Only South Carolina, Georgia and Eastern North Carolina in 1787, were uncompromisingly in favour of slavery and the slave trade.

New-York adopted the policy of grad-

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

ual emancipation in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. Vermont, which may almost be counted one of the original colonies, forbade slavery when it was set up as an independent state in 1777. Ohio, when admitted in 1803, came in under the Ordinance of 1787 forbidding slavery in the Northwest Territory. Every northern state, except Delaware, therefore, had moved against slavery before the end of Jefferson's first term.

Meanwhile a young New England schoolmaster, Eli Whitney by name, while on the Georgia plantation of Mrs. Greene, the widow of the Revolutionary General, had invented a machine which would rapidly separate cotton from its seeds. This fundamental idea was patented in 1794, and two years afterward a Georgia mechanic, Hogden Holmes, patented an improvement which is practically the saw gin of to-day. This machine revolutionised agriculture, and it is hardly too much to say, the whole economic structure in the South.

Cotton had been grown before this time, and the demand was increasing, but the slow and tedious work of separating the seeds by hand had limited the crop to something like 2,000,000 pounds a year. These rude machines could do as much in a day as a thousand pairs of hands, and within twenty-five years the crop was 160,000,000 pounds and increasing rapidly. Until about 1840, cotton production was so profitable that the chief energies of those Southern States where the plant would grow were turned into cotton culture. Afterward, since the whole economic system was adjusted to cotton culture, change seemed impossible. In 1810 the textile production of several southern states was considerable, but the tendency toward the development of manufactures was checked by competition with cotton culture.

Naturally the demand for slaves increased enormously, and the price accordingly. The new states of the Gulf region were all devoted to cotton, and as cotton culture seemed to be dependent upon slavery, the institution came to be regarded as absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the South. Virginia and parts of North Carolina and

Tennessee were less affected, though slavery seemed as necessary for the production of tobacco on a large scale as of cotton. The surplus slaves of these states found a ready market farther to the south. Though the foreign slave trade was forbidden by Congress on the recommendation of President Jefferson at the earliest moment permitted by the Constitution, that is the year 1808, slaves were smuggled into the United States as long as slavery existed in the country.

There were anti-slavery societies in the early days of the republic, but in the beginning of the new century the energy was for a time directed into the "American Colonisation Society," which included both Northerners and Southerners in the membership. For thirteen years its president was Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, a Justice of the Supreme Court. This organisation had for its purpose the return of all the negroes to Africa. The task

of returning freed slaves was, however, greater than the funds permitted. Many owners of slaves, particularly in the border states, had been emancipating them from very early times. Thus the problem of the free negro arose. Often there was slight opportunity of securing employment for wages, and their influence upon the slaves was sometimes bad. Therefore, in several states, emancipation was forbidden by law, unless the negroes were sent out of the state. Many were sent to the free states, or territories of the Northwest, where objection to their settlement soon arose. For example, John Randolph, of Roanoke, emancipated nearly four hundred slaves by his will. His executors purchased 3,200 acres of land in Ohio for a colony, but a mob attempted to prevent the settlement. In several of the free states the settlement of free negroes was forbidden by law.

Since so many obstacles were thrown in the way of sending emancipated slaves to free states, the Society formed a settlement on the African coast, which gradually developed into the Republic of Liberia. The national government supported an agent in Africa to look after the negroes captured from slave ships and re-

Liberia
is
Founded

Increasing
Demand for
Slaves

turned to Africa, and this agent after a time co-operated with the Colonisation Society. The funds of the Society were limited, the negroes generally did not wish to go to Africa, and many who were sent found their way back to the United States. A series of negro insurrections, about 1831, sent a shudder throughout the country, and this, together with the rise of the Abolition Movement, much lessened the importance of the Colonisation Society.

The Constitution left the question of slavery within a state absolutely to the state. The general government had, according to the Constitution, no authority to interfere with slavery in any state. In fact the Constitution went farther and provided that any "Person held to Service or Labour, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another . . . shall be delivered on Claim of the Party, to whom such Service or Labour shall be due." The power of Congress to regulate slavery within the territories was not specifically stated, but already in 1787, the Congress of the Confederation, by the Ordinance of 1787, had forbidden slavery in the Northwest Territory. The power of Congress to make such regulations was not specifically questioned at the time, though later there was a strong party in the new states which wished to introduce slavery. The question never came to a head, as there was always an anti-slavery majority in this region.

Attacks on slavery were made very early and the representatives of the slaveholding states seem to have feared that the powers of the general government would be used to their disadvantage, not entirely because of the slavery question, but on the general question of the interests of the agricultural states as opposed to those of the commercial and manufacturing states. We, therefore, find that states were generally admitted in pairs, one southern, one northern. The equality of representation in the Senate, fixed because of the insistence of the smaller states, became the bulwark of the southern agricultural states.

There was little discussion of the question in Congress until 1818, when the bill to admit Missouri as a state was brought

up. The amendment of Mr. Tallmadge of New York (February 19, 1819), prohibited further introduction of slaves into Missouri, and provided for the emancipation of those born after admission as a state, on reaching the age of twenty-five years.

The Missouri Compromise

The bill as amended passed the House, but was thrown out by the Senate, thus showing the importance to the South of the control of that body. The power of Congress to bind a state was seriously debated. That is, could Congress make conditions for admission to the Union which would be binding upon the state afterward? The "Missouri Compromise" of 1820 admitted Maine as a free state, Missouri as a slave state, but provided that "slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment for crimes, wherof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited" in all the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30', the southern boundary of Missouri.

By this compromise the South lost, as the present state of Arkansas was the only part of the Louisiana Purchase below that line out of which a slave state could be made, while immense regions remained to the north. Monroe signed the bill, as he believed that the word "forever" was only binding while the region was under a territorial form of government. He did not believe that Congress could bind a state after it was admitted. Evidently there was a strong element in the United States determined to prevent the extension of slavery, and some of the Southern leaders were convinced that they must stand together to prevent further aggression. The Compromise was effective, however, and there was little discussion in Congress for several years.

Up to about this time, in all the discussions in Congress, slavery had been regarded as a necessary evil. Later we shall see the tone of the discussion change. With the attacks on the institution, which grew more bitter as time went on, we shall find slavery proclaimed as a positive good. The institution was defended on the grounds that it was transforming the barbarous, cannibalistic African into a higher type, and

Slavery Defended in Congress

Equal Representation in the Senate

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

on account of its enormous importance to the United States. Because of slavery, new lands in which white men could not work were subdued, and the financial position of the United States was strengthened by the exports of cotton. It was further claimed that the prosperity of the manufacturers of New England was possible because of the cotton production of the South. Some went so far as to say the condition of the slaves was on the whole preferable to that of the mill-workers of New England, who worked quite as long hours as the slaves.

This defense of slavery was partly due to the reaction from the bitter attacks made by what was at first a small group of abolitionists. Benjamin

**Abolitionists
and their
Attitude**

Lundy, a Quaker, in 1829, founded the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" on which William Lloyd Garrison was associate editor. In 1831, the latter began the publication of "The Liberator," demanding the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Garrison was a radical fanatic to whom slavery was a sin without excuse. Since the Constitution recognised slavery, it was "a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell," and this phrase was repeated many times in later resolutions of the Abolition Societies which sprang up. The "New England Anti-slavery Society" was formed in 1832, and the national society the next year. Soon the cause gained the powerful aid of Wendell Phillips who was hardly less violent than Garrison, and in 1840 there were about 2,000 local societies with 200,000 members, most of whom flatly advocated disunion.

Garrison and his followers were in a small minority in New England in the beginning, and mobs attacked the anti-slavery orators there, and in other parts of the country when they appeared. But the agitation bore fruit both North and South. Men were gradually, as time went on, forced to take one side or the other. The cause gained strength in the North, while in the South men less and less opposed slavery.

**The Result
of Abolitionist
Agitation**

Some of the abolitionists advocated slave insurrections. The Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia in 1831, and the horrors of Haiti and Santo Domingo

showed the South what might be expected if the plans of these abolitionists should mature. Thousands of Southerners who had formerly openly opposed slavery kept silent, or else emigrated to the free states of the Northwest. Some students estimate that, in 1850, one-third of the population of Indiana was of North Carolina birth or descent. Every attempt was made to keep abolition literature out of the South. Stricter and stricter laws to control the slaves were passed in the Southern states, as the years went on, under the fear of slave insurrections.

About 1831, numerous petitions for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia were laid before both

**Slavery and
the Right
of Petition** Houses of Congress. At first they were referred to committees, but as the number continued to grow, they

were received and laid upon the table. After bitter discussion it was finally decided (1840) by the House of Representatives that no further petition on the subject would be received. This was bad tactics on the part of the Southern leaders. John Quincy Adams, who had been sent to the House of Representatives after he had retired from the Presidency, became the leader of the abolitionists in the House, and was able to identify the denial of the right of petition with the great question of free speech. So high did feeling run, that in 1844, the House rescinded the obnoxious rule.

It is plain now why there was a division upon the Texas question. Slavery was already established in the new republic, and annexation would add a new state or states to the South. For these same reasons the anti-slavery forces were bitterly opposed. Tyler was disappointed by the failure of his treaty, but not discouraged, and awaited events.

The Democratic National Convention to nominate a candidate for President passed over Van Buren, because of his opposition to the annexation of Texas, and Lewis Cass, of Michigan, because of supposed unpopularity in the North. As a compromise candidate, James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, was chosen. The platform called for the "re-annexation of Texas, and the re-occupation of Ore-

gon." The campaign slogans were, "All of Texas, all of Oregon," and "Fifty-four forty or fight." The Whig connection nominated Henry Clay by acclamation, omitting any mention of these questions. Two other candidates were named. President Tyler was nominated by his friends, but soon withdrew, and supported Polk. The Liberty Party representing that faction of the abolitionists who sought to gain their ends by political action, again nominated James G. Birney of Michigan. At the election Polk was chosen, receiving 170 electoral votes to 105 cast for Clay. The Liberty Party had held the balance of power in New York and Michigan, and had made annexation sure. Under Clay it would only have been a possibility. Horace Greeley said, "The triumph of annexation was secured by the indirect aid of the more intense partisans of abolition."

The election indicated that annexation was coming, and President Tyler, anxious to secure the credit for his administration, recommended that annexation be secured by a joint recommendation of Congress. The resolution provided for the admission of Texas as a state with boundaries subject to negotiation with Mexico, and for the cession by the state of its means of defense. The state was to pay its own debt and keep its own public lands. Further, with the consent of the state, new states, not exceeding four, might be made from it. The resolution was passed by both Houses and signed by President Tyler March 1, 1845, and Texas was admitted as a state on December 29, 1845.

James Knox Polk, like Jackson, was a native of North Carolina who had spent the greater part of his adult life in Tennessee. Like Jackson he was of Scotch-Irish stock, but the family circumstances were better, and he had been graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818. He had served seven terms in the United States House of Representatives, two terms as Speaker. He had been Governor of Tennessee, and in 1844 was a candidate for the nomination for Vice-President. He was perhaps less well-known than any man who had held the office of President up to that

time. While not of first rate ability, he was conscientious and industrious, self-reliant and fixed in his purposes.

The foreign policies of Polk's administration were so much more important than the domestic that the latter had better be mentioned first. A tariff bill was passed in 1846, which looked toward the principle of a "tariff for revenue only" but still retained some protective features, and had also a free list. The Independent Treasury bill was passed the same year. The Bank question in the old form was dead in American politics.

The Democratic platform had declared for the "re-occupation of Oregon." What was Oregon? Russia, after the

announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, had agreed to make no settlements south of 54° 40'.

Spain in ceding Florida in 1819 had fixed the northern boundary of the western possessions she retained at 42°. The "Oregon country," lying between the Russian and the Spanish claims, that is between 42° and 54° 40', was claimed by both the United States and Great Britain. The bases of the claims of both were discovery and settlement, though the United States in addition was the heir of any claim that Spain might have had. Captain James Cook, the great English navigator, had sailed along the coast in 1778, Captain George Vancouver, who had accompanied Cook, surveyed the coast in 1792-94, and fur-traders and trappers had visited the country after 1793. The Hudson's Bay Company founded a post in 1811. The American claim was based upon the Spanish claim, upon discovery by Robert Gray, in 1792, of the mouth of the Columbia River, which Vancouver had overlooked, upon the explorations of the Lewis and Clark Expedition already mentioned, upon the founding of Astoria as a trading post for furs by John Jacob Astor. This post was occupied in 1811, a few months earlier than the British post.

In 1818, when the northern boundary of the United States had been carried to the Rocky Mountains, the Oregon country had been left open to joint occupation for ten years.

Claims of discovery and exploration are not valid without occupation, and neither nation had

The
Election
of 1844

The
Oregon
Question

Polk
and his
Views

Joint
Occupation
of Oregon

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

really occupied the country. In 1828 the agreement was renewed for an indefinite period but could be terminated on twelve months' notice from either party. The Hudson's Bay Company held three fortified posts, trappers roamed the whole region, and there were a few farmers. American missionaries had gone out in 1832 and gradually consider-



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

was born in Virginia in 1786. He served with distinction in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War. He became commander of the United States Army in 1841, and was an unsuccessful candidate for President in 1852. He resigned in November, 1861.

able settlements grew up along the Columbia River. Webster in 1842 came to the conclusion from his dealings with Lord Ashburton that it was the British purpose to wait until the country north of the Columbia had been occupied by British subjects, and then insist upon that river as the boundary. This boundary would have given the greater part of the present state of Washington to Great Britain.

Polk was authorised to give notice to Great Britain of the termination of the

joint agreement, and the House of Representatives was apparently determined to insist upon claiming the territory up to 54° 40', which might easily have provoked war. After some negotiations it was agreed to extend the forty-ninth parallel to the middle of the strait separating Vancouver from the mainland, giving all of that island, and some smaller islets to Great Britain.

The difficulty with Mexico was not settled so easily. Though Mexico had withdrawn her minister when the resolution for annexation was passed, President Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico to negotiate for the purchase of

War Brewing with Mexico

California, or at least that part north of San Francisco. For this he was to offer \$20,000,000 with \$5,000,000 more for the part north of Monterey. For New Mexico he was to offer \$5,000,000 more, and was to try to arrange the disputed boundaries with Mexico. So intense was the feeling against the United States, on account of Texas, that both the outgoing and the incoming Presidents refused even to receive the American envoy. Meantime Mexican troops were sent to Matamoras, with the evident intention of crossing the Rio Grande and invading territory claimed by Texas.

General Zachary Taylor, with a small force, was ordered to advance to the Rio Grande. An American scouting party was attacked by the Mexicans, and all were killed or captured. The President immediately sent a message to Congress, announcing that American troops had been killed upon American soil. Fifty thousand men were at once voted. Two expeditions were planned. Taylor was to invade northern Mexico, while another expedition under Colonel Stephen W. Kearney was to conquer New Mexico, and push on into California. It was not believed that Mexico would really offer determined resistance.

General Taylor received reinforcements, and proceeded against the Mexican forces on the north side of the Rio Grande. At Palo Alto and

General Taylor's Success in Mexico

Resaca de la Palma, the Mexicans were decisively defeated, and driven across the river. General Arista abandoned Matamoras and fell back to Monterey,

which was attacked, September 20, 1846. After three days the city was surrendered, though the defenders were allowed to march out with their arms. Taylor then continued his advance, but it was by this time obvious that Mexico City could hardly be taken from this direction on account of the distance.

It was then decided to land troops at Vera Cruz and force a way to Mexico City. This expedition was placed under General Winfield Scott, who had done such good work on the Canadian border in the War of 1812, and some of General Taylor's best troops were detached to join the new army. It was thought that the energies of the Mexicans would be devoted to preparations made necessary by the Vera Cruz expedition. Santa Anna, the Mexican commander-in-chief, determined to crush Taylor first, and with an overwhelming force advanced on his small army, composed almost entirely of new recruits. At Buena Vista Taylor stubbornly held his position and Santa Anna was forced to retreat. During the remainder of the war Taylor held his ground and attempted no further movement.

Meanwhile the expedition against New Mexico had marched from Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri, across the arid plains, and had entered Santa Fé, August 18, 1846, practically without resistance. A month later, Colonel Kearney with a small force started for California to complete the work assigned, only to find that California had already fallen to Commodore Sloat and Stockton of the Navy, and some Americans already in the territory, among whom was John C. Frémont, of whom we shall hear more later.

General Scott was now to complete the humiliation of Mexico. Landing near Vera Cruz, March 9, 1847, the city was taken within five days. Advancing toward Mexico City, the fortified hill of Cerro Gordo was stormed in April. Fruitless negotiations for peace consumed several months, but in August Contreras and Churubusco were taken. Again negotiations for peace, and then came the capture of Molino del Rey in September. Only the cannon-crowned hill of Chapultepec now guarded the city.

On September 13 it was attacked, and though desperately defended, was taken. The next day the American army entered Mexico City.

The troops who had fought so steadily under Scott and Taylor were principally militia, with little more training than those who had blundered and failed during the War of 1812, but this time they were well led. Both Scott and Taylor possessed decided military ability and the West Point Academy had proved itself. Among the graduates who saw service in this war were Robert E. Lee, U. S. Grant, G. H. Thomas, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, Jefferson Davis, John Sedgwick, W. S. Hancock, T. J. ("Stonewall") Jackson and dozens of others who were to bear greater responsibilities in a greater war.

In the treaty signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, the Mexican authorities gave up all claims to territory north of the Rio Grande and the Gila Rivers. The United States paid over \$15,000,000 and assumed the claims of American citizens against Mexico. In 1853, in order to secure an easier route for a transcontinental railway, an additional strip, to the south of Arizona and New Mexico, was purchased for \$10,000,000. The United States now stretched across the continent in an unbroken mass.

The territory given up by Mexico in these two cessions was considerably more than is now included under the names Texas, New Mexico and California. In addition to the present territory included in these three states, all of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma were embraced in the cessions. The Texas boundaries were reduced to their present form by negotiations with the state.

The acquisitions of new territory brought up the slavery question again. In 1846, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered the famous "Wilmot Proviso," declaring that in any territory to be acquired from Mexico, slavery should be forbidden. It passed the House and was barely lost in the Senate. This indicated that the North was not willing to have

The Expedition Against New Mexico

California and New Mexico



During the whole Mexican War American troops seemed always successful. Monterey was well fortified and defended by a force larger than General Taylor's, but was soon taken. At Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Buena Vista, General Taylor was also successful. General Taylor's horse "Whitey" was as well known to the army as his owner, and both seemed to enjoy being under fire.



AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE MEXICAN WAR

General Winfield Scott at the head of 12,000 men landed at Vera Cruz, on the Gulf of Mexico, in March, 1847, soon captured the city, and started on the toilsome march into the interior. Finally after several battles in which his troops behaved like veterans, instead of untrained militia, the capital was taken on September 14, and the army entered the city. The whole campaign was well-planned and well executed. General Scott and General Taylor both gained great reputations in this war.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

the Missouri Compromise Line extended across the continent. It was based on the principle that Congress could make any regulations for the territories, as that body had been doing since the Ordinance of 1787. In opposition to this

The "Wilmot Proviso" Arouses Discussion

theory, two contrary theories were now advanced. Calhoun held that the guaranties of the Constitution concerning slavery extended to the territories. Since the Constitution guaranteed property rights,

these questions were being discussed. The Whigs offered no platform, but nominated a military hero without a record, General Zachary Taylor, a slaveholder. It is said that owing partly to his military duties, and partly to lack of interest, he had never voted and now claimed to belong to no party. Millard Fillmore of New York was the candidate for Vice-President. President Polk refused to consider a second term, and Lewis Cass was nominated for President, and an unknown man, William O.



WASHING GOLD FROM THE BED OF A STREAM

Much of the gold in California in the early days came from the beds of streams. Prospectors roamed the country examining every brook. The man is shaking the box in which is a shovelful of sand. The gold is heavier than the sand and sinks to the bottom and the sand and soil are washed away by the water. This is called placer mining. It is easier and requires less capital than other methods.

slaves, which were property, should be protected in the territories which belonged to all the states in common. The position of Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was based not so much on the Constitution as upon the principles of abstract right. Since the people of the territories were not represented in the general government, it was wrong that they should be governed by it in matters of domestic concern. It was, therefore, their right to determine whether or not slavery should exist in any territory.

The election of 1848 approached while

Butler, of Kentucky, was nominated for Vice-President.

The New York Democracy was divided into two factions, one of them, known as the "Barnburners," opposed to slavery. The name arose from the story often told of the old farmer who burned his barn to get rid of the rats. It was claimed that the "Barnburners" were willing to destroy the Union to get rid of slavery in the territories. The "Barnburners" refused to support Cass, and nominated Van Buren. All the

**The
Elections
of 1848**

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

other radical elements opposed to slavery joined in a convention, which ratified the nomination and founded the "Free-Soil" party. General Taylor's military record, and the fact that he was a Southerner and a slave-holder, brought him the votes of several Southern states, and the Democratic division in New York gave him the vote of that state. He was elected, receiving 163 electoral votes to 127 for Cass.

Meanwhile the question of the territories was growing more pressing. The

in 1808, and with the exception of one year had spent all his life in the service, chiefly on the frontier and against the Indians. Without experience in civil administration, he came to the Presidency at a time of conflict, when the abolitionists on the one hand, and the radical Southerners on the other were threatening disunion. He bore himself with modesty, yet with firmness, and was not a friend of compromise. Before any of the great questions had come to a

**President
Taylor's
Record**



While bands of emigrants were crossing the plains in wagons, they were sometimes attacked by Indians, who attempted to drive off their cattle if they could not capture the wagons. When we think of the dangers and hardships of the journey we wonder that any were brave enough to risk crossing the plains. Thousands every year made their way across the uninhabited lands to the Far West.

discovery of gold in California was filling the state with a horde of strong adventurous men, and a government was necessary. Oregon must also be provided with a government. After a bitter debate, Oregon was formed into a territory without slavery. Polk signed the bill, emphasising the fact that such action was in harmony with the Missouri Compromise, and recommended the extension of the line to the Pacific.

The new President, Zachary Taylor, was born in Virginia, September 4, 1784, but the family soon removed to Kentucky. Young Taylor entered the army

vote, however, he died, in July, 1850, and Fillmore became President.

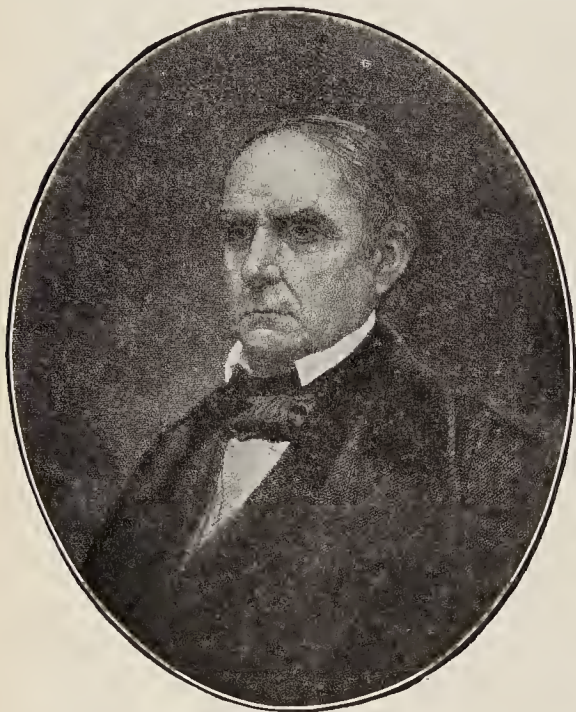
Before the treaty with Mexico had been signed, some workmen on a mill race on the American River, in California (January 24, 1848), saw some yellow grains in the sand, which investigation showed to be gold. In spite of efforts to keep the matter a secret, the news spread, and scenes of frantic excitement followed. Few able-bodied men remained in San Francisco. Lawyers and doctors left their offices, merchants closed their shops, mechanics threw down their tools, the crews of ships in

the harbour deserted. All were seeking gold.

From the Eastern states, when the news finally arrived, throngs set out for the "Golden West." Some went around

Cape Horn, others to the Isthmus, crossed and made their way northward. Other thousands in wagon trains attempted to cross the great plains and the Rockies. Some of these perished of famine and hardships; others were attacked by hostile Indians. These were the "Forty-niners" as those who arrived during that year were called. In 1850 the population of the region was 92,597

The
Rush to
California



DANIEL WEBSTER

Was born in New Hampshire in 1782, but won his fame after his removal to Massachusetts. From 1827 until his death in 1852 he was either United States Senator, or Secretary of State. He was the greatest orator of his time.

with no recognised authority in the territory, except a handful of soldiers, which could not preserve law and order in every mining camp in the hills. Some sort of civil government was necessary. Congress delayed and the people moved.

Since the population was greater than that of some of the states which had been admitted, a convention was called, September, 1849, which formed a state constitution excluding slavery. Elections were held, a complete set of officers chosen, and application was made to

Congress for admission as a state. The application was finally granted as a part of the "Compromise of 1850," of which we shall now speak. California, therefore, passed directly to statehood, without going through the territorial stage, usually required.

While all the questions growing out of the Mexican War were being discussed with increasing bitterness, and a deadlock seemed probable, the

Henry Clay
again Offers
a Compromise

aggressive, impulsive Henry Clay again appeared with a compromise

to settle all the questions in dispute. His plan was laid before the Senate, January 29, 1850. It provided for the admission of California as a free state, but organised the remainder of the Mexican cession without reference to slavery; the war debt of Texas was assumed in return for the surrender of her claim to a part of New Mexico; the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, but any intention to interfere elsewhere was expressly disclaimed; an effective Fugitive Slave Law was granted to the South.

The debate was momentous. Calhoun, tottering from a sick bed, came into the Senate where his speech was read. He traced the progress of the Union, spoke of the former equality of North and South in the Senate, now to be destroyed. He declared that the strength of the South had been weakened by the policy of the general government in excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory, and the greater part of the Louisiana Purchase; by the policy of protection; and by the increased power exercised by the general government. There were now no Southern territories preparing for statehood, while there might soon be five new Northern states, thus placing the South absolutely in the power of the North. For the South the inevitable choice was disunion or abolition. The only remedy that he could propose was an amendment guaranteeing the South equal rights in the territories, a fair execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the immediate cessation of abolition agitation.

Webster, in his famous Seventh of March speech, favoured the compromise. His devotion to the Union was his



HENRY CLAY ADDRESSING THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

This famous engraving recalls the stirring days when the question of slavery was a vital issue. The "Compromise of 1850" urged by Henry Clay would, it was hoped, settle the dispute between the sections forever. The faces in the picture are portraits. Vice-President Fillmore is presiding, and Calhoun stands at his left hand. Webster with his head resting on his hand is seated behind Clay. One familiar with portraits of statesmen of the day can easily recognise others.

Webster's
Seventh of
March Speech

strongest passion. He was convinced that further agitation would lead to secession, and he preferred the Union with slavery to disunion. The effect on the moderate men of the North was immediate, but the more radical denounced him without measure. Whittier wrote the poem, "Ichabod," Garrison called him the "greatest and meanest of his countrymen," and his character "base and contemptible," while Phillips referred to him as a "monster" and a "great scoundrel."

The leading speeches in opposition were made by Jefferson Davis, the rising leader of the Southern radicals, by Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and William H. Seward of New York. The last named created a sensation by declaring that there is a "higher law than the Constitution," and demanded the immediate admission of California, without regard to the other terms of the compromise resolutions. President Fillmore, however, was favourable to the compromise, and the moderate men of both parties rallied to its support. Finally, late in the year the "Compromise of 1850" was complete.

The remainder of Fillmore's administration was uneventful. It seemed that the Compromise had been successful.

Change of
Sentiment in
the North

Attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, it is true, created trouble in some places, and officers of the law were in some cases overpowered by mobs, but the moderate men in both sections seemed to be in control. Close observers realised, however, that the very air was electric. Twenty years before northern mobs had attacked abolitionists, had destroyed their property, and given them coats of tar and feathers. Now the mobs were attacking the officers of the law, and rescuing slaves who were being taken back to servitude. Several states passed "Personal Liberty" laws, forbidding state officers to assist in apprehending runaway slaves, and refusing the use of their jails for temporary safe keeping. The "Underground Railroad" was increasingly effective. This term was given to the refuges where fugitives might find shelter and help on the way to the North or to Canada. Regular

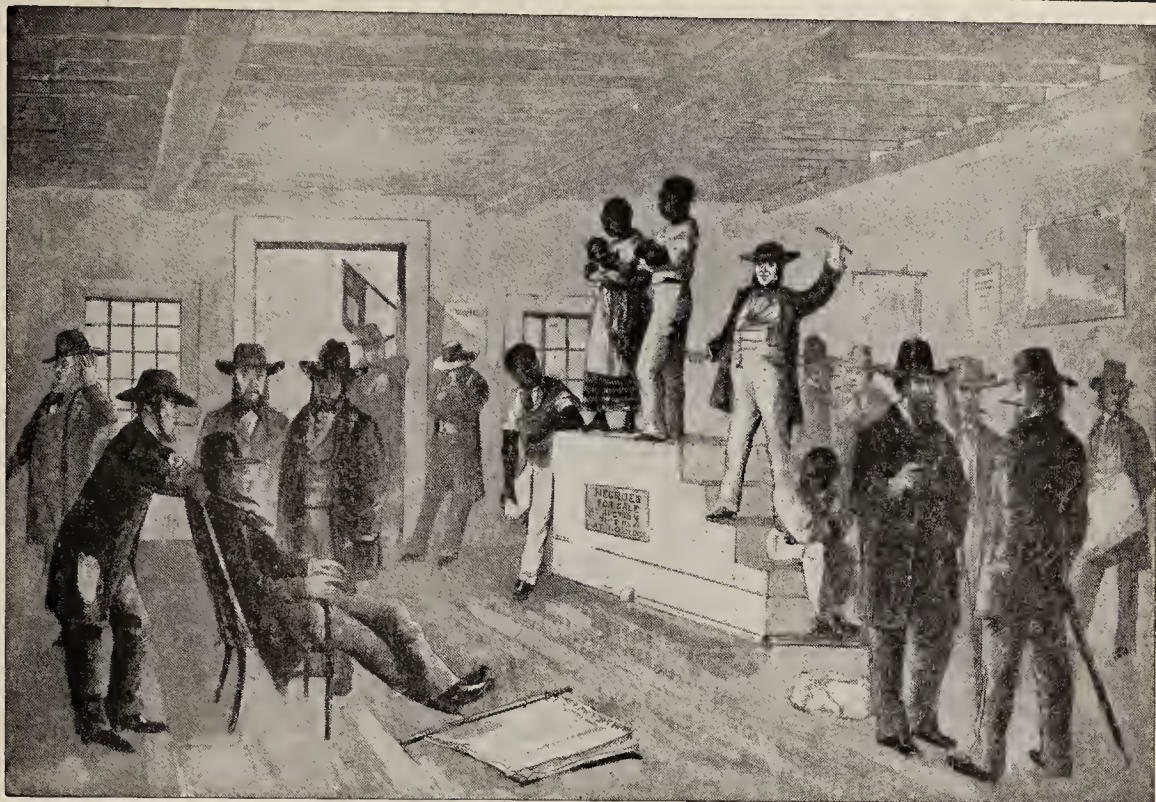
routes were laid out, and the fugitive was directed from one house to another until he had arrived where he was not likely to be molested. Evidently a great change in the popular attitude was indicated.

In the convention to nominate a Presidential candidate, the Democratic strength was divided between Cass, the candidate of four years before, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, William L. Marcy of New York, and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Finally the convention, as eight years before, turned to a "dark horse" and nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. For Vice-President, William R. King, of Alabama, was named. The Whigs in their convention, after much fruitless balloting, in which Fillmore and Webster led, attempted to repeat the only successes they had ever won by again nominating a military man. General Winfield Scott was chosen, much to the chagrin of Webster. Perhaps the disappointment hastened his death, which occurred at the end of the year. William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was nominated for Vice-President. Both platforms approved the Compromise of 1850, but it was known that many of the Northern Whigs were actually opposed to the measure. The Free Soil party nominated J. P. Hale of New Hampshire.

The election showed the feeling of the people. Pierce was triumphantly elected, receiving 254 electoral votes to 42 cast for Scott. The Free Soil candidate received on the popular vote, hardly half of the number cast for Van Buren four years before. Evidently the people desired a rest from agitation.

The
Election
of 1852

Just at this time (1852), a momentous event occurred. It was the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a book written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, a sister of Henry Ward Beecher, the famous preacher. It purported to describe the institution of slavery. It depicted slavery at its best, but showed also how the best could easily be transformed into the worst, and it is upon the worst that the chief emphasis is laid. While overdrawn in many incidents, based as it was upon exceptional incidents, and not intended to be fair, it was a wonderful



SELLING SLAVES AT AUCTION



NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN DISPLAYED FOR SALE IN NEW ORLEANS

Before the abolition of slavery there were regular markets for slaves in the larger towns. These two pictures made from old prints show the general appearance of the places. Prices varied greatly according to age, strength, intelligence, disposition and skill. A coachman, mechanic, or a house servant would bring a much larger price than a field hand. Sometimes families were separated at sales, though the better class of owners tried to avoid such divisions. The "negro trader" was generally scorned.

piece of special pleading. Thousands of copies were sold, and from its pages many, who had never seriously considered the question, gained an intense hatred of slavery.

Franklin Pierce was only forty-eight years of age when chosen President, the youngest man who had held the office up to that time. He had served in the New Hampshire legislature, and without particular distinction in both Houses of the United States Congress. During the Mexican War, he commanded a brigade under General Scott, and showed personal bravery of a very high order. His attractive personality had made him many friends, but he had been known in politics as a follower rather than as a leader of the party.

It was Pierce's policy to turn the attention of the country to foreign affairs. For several years, Cuba had been restless, and it was hoped for a time that a revolution might be successful. In that case it was proposed to make an attempt to annex the island. The project failed, and the only foreign territory added to the United States was the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico, already mentioned. This purchase grew out of the project for a transcontinental railway demanded by California. The engineer reported in favour of a southern route, and the territory was desirable. The suggestion of this route was opposed by the states further north.

During the administration, however, many commercial treaties with foreign powers were made. The treaty with Japan, begun under the previous administration, was completed, and new treaties with Persia and Siam were negotiated. A favourable reciprocity treaty with Canada was arranged, and progress was made toward securing free navigation of the Baltic.

Between the Mississippi and the newly organised State of California and Territory of Oregon was a vast stretch of country as yet unorganised. Into it settlers were going, and it seemed wise that the members of the Union in the Far West be linked up with the East as soon as possible. The pro-slavery men

were not anxious to have a free territory organised, and some of the western men determined to introduce a bill to organise the Territory of Nebraska, without mention of slavery. When the bill was reported from the committee by the chairman, Stephen A. Douglas, January 4, 1854, it contained no mention of slavery, except to say that a territory when admitted as a state or states "shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission . . ." In the report accompanying the bill, Douglas argued that the Missouri Compromise had been repealed by the Compromise of 1850, and set forth his theory of "popular sovereignty," which he claimed was contained in the Compromise of 1850. This was the theory already suggested by Lewis Cass years before: that the people of a territory ought to decide such questions for themselves.

Soon Douglas reported a substitute for the original measure, providing for two territories in place of one, and later proposed a definite repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The reason for division into two territories was the old plan of preserving an equality of free and slave states. It was announced that Nebraska to the north would almost certainly be free, while it was thought that Kansas, immediately to the west of Missouri, would declare for slavery. It was a bold measure, and the ensuing debate was exceedingly bitter. The calm after the Compromise of 1850 was forgotten. The bill finally passed both Senate and House and was signed by President Pierce.

The effect of the Act was immediate and portentous. It killed the Whig Party. That body had for years held its Northern and Southern members together. Northern Democrats denounced their party, and for a time there was hardly a better name for them than Anti-Nebraska Men. What was the motive of Senator Douglas in thus reopening the question, which had been thought to be buried, cannot be definitely established. The opponents of the bill saw in it an unblushing bid for support in his Presi-

Douglas
and "Popular
Sovereignty"

Franklin Pierce,
the Fourteenth
President

The Kansas-
Nebraska
Bill

Treaty
with
Japan

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

dential aspirations. But the Southerners had not asked this action, and the wise leaders opposed bringing up the question.

The more charitable construction of his act is to accept it at its face value. He was a Westerner, with all the Western belief in the wisdom of the people prevalent at the time. He had shown his belief in local self-government, and undoubtedly thought the settlers in a Western territory more capable of deciding all questions which directly affected them, than the residents of an Eastern city or village. Another interpretation is that he was anxious to have the territory laid out, anxious for a transcontinental railway, and thought that it could not be secured without Southern votes. That he had any idea of the storm that he was raising is inconceivable.

Though it was anticipated that Kansas would become a slave-holding territory without opposition, the "Emigrant Aid Society" was formed in Massachusetts, with the purpose of transporting settlers to Kansas. It was the plan to furnish transportation, settle them in groups, with tools and implements, and to provide them with capital, until they should become self-supporting.

Hotels and boarding houses were to be erected, newspapers were to be founded. In other words it was proposed to lessen the inconvenience of the frontier, and enable the first immigrants to enjoy from the beginning some of the comforts of civilised life. When the first group arrived, settlers from Missouri had already preceded them. The news of the formation of the society created great excitement in Missouri, and in other Southern states, and bands were organised to move to Kansas.

The pro-slavery men gained control of the first legislature, undeniably through the aid of residents in Missouri, who crossed the border only to vote. These men claimed that they had as much right to vote on the question as the men sent in by the "Emigrant Aid Society" and other organisations of the same kind. There was also a feeling that the anti-slavery element had not been fair, since

it was the general understanding that Kansas was to become a slave state. A constitution with slavery was framed later.

The anti-slavery settlers attempted to ignore the pro-slavery legislature, and adopted a "Free State" constitution at Topeka (1855), set up a government of their own, and asked for admission to the Union as a state. The pro-slavery element generally settled along the Missouri River, while the other party followed the course of the Kansas River inland. For a time each of the contending factions exercised jurisdiction over its own section. Clashes occurred, however, and rifles were shipped into the territory by both sides, and undoubtedly men went to Kansas, not with the intention of settling permanently, but to help their friends or their factions.

The story of the conflict is too long to tell here. A pro-slavery band, under the guise of a sheriff's posse, wrecked the town of Lawrence. Dr. Charles Robinson, the leader of the "Free State" forces, endeavoured to keep his men in line, but among them were some fanatics, and other reckless characters who could not be restrained. One, John Brown, a monomaniac on the subject of slavery, perhaps even insane, committed some brutal and unprovoked murders by night on Pottawatomie Creek, and guerilla warfare broke out. About two hundred men lost their lives, and the territory became known as "Bleeding Kansas." Order was preserved only by the use of the United States army. Neither party could secure recognition from Congress, but by 1857 it was evident that the superior means and organisation of the Free State party had won Kansas. Not until 1861, however, was statehood granted.

During the debate on the admission of Kansas as a state (May 19, 20, 1856), Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, made a denunciatory speech on the "Crime against Kansas," in which he attacked several Senators.

Among them was Senator Butler, of South Carolina, who was ill and absent from his seat. The attack on Senator Butler was "especially coarse and bru-

**The Motive
of Sena-
tor Douglas**

**Purposes of
the Emigrant
Aid Society**

**John Brown
and "Bleed-
ing Kansas"**

**The Attack
on Sena-
tor Sumner**

tal" and the whole speech was characterised by the venerable Senator Cass as "the most un-American and unpatriotic that ever grated on the ears of this high body . . ." Representative Brooks, of South Carolina, a nephew of Senator Butler, two days afterward attacked Senator Sumner while seated at his desk, beating him on the head and shoulders with a cane and inflicting serious injuries, from which he did not recover for several years. This brutal attack upon an unsuspecting man did much to inflame public sentiment in the North.

Meanwhile the election of 1856 approached. From the time that foreign immigration began to be important, local movements to restrict the suffrage to native Americans had been frequent. A secret society, aimed especially against Irish Catholics, spread rapidly about 1850, and afterward appeared in the open as the American party. As the members when questioned about their party were instructed to answer every question with, "I don't know," they were popularly called the "Know-Nothings." The party showed great strength, especially in New England. In 1854 a meeting, in Ripon, Wisconsin, called to protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, recommended the formation of a new party to fight the extension of slavery. The name Republican was adopted, and tickets were nominated in Wisconsin and Michigan, and "Anti-Nebraska" tickets were nominated in other states.

The new party received accessions from the anti-slavery wing of the Know-Nothings, from the Northern Whigs, and from anti-slavery Democrats besides, of course, the members of the Free-Soil party. It nominated as its candidate, John C. Frémont, a young army officer who had attracted notice as an explorer, and had taken part in the capture of California. A platform opposing slavery in the territories, demanding the admission of Kansas as a free state, and favouring internal improvements, particularly a railroad to the Pacific, was adopted. The Know-Nothings approved the Compromise of 1850, and stressed the danger of foreign immigration. Since the real issue was Kansas, the Democratic convention passed by

both Pierce and Douglas, alike identified in the public mind with the question, and nominated James Buchanan, who had been absent as Minister to England during the discussion, and hence had no record on the subject.

The Republican party was frankly sectional, and some of the conservative northern Whigs preferred to vote for Buchanan, rather than for the more erratic Frémont. The southern Whigs voted either with the Know-Nothings, who nominated ex-President Fillmore, or for Buchanan. The campaign was bitter. The election showed 174 votes for Buchanan, 114 for Frémont, and only 8 for Fillmore. Pennsylvania was counted by a small vote for Buchanan. If that state had gone to Frémont, he would have been elected.

James Buchanan, the fifteenth President, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was born in 1791, and his memory reached back to the administration of Washington. He had served his country in both Houses of Congress, as special envoy to Russia, as Secretary of State under President Polk, and as Minister to England. He was a cautious, prudent man, given to compromise and to the avoidance of difficulties. He had done his best to keep the discussion of slavery out of Congress, and now became President, when little else than slavery could be discussed.

Just after the inauguration, the Supreme Court handed down the Dred Scott Decision, which only added to the complexities and complications. Dred Scott was a slave, whose owner, an army surgeon, had carried him into the free state of Illinois, and afterward into that part of the Louisiana Purchase, above the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, fixed by the Missouri Compromise as the northern boundary of slave territory. Later, Dr. Emerson returned to Missouri, and after his death Scott sued for his freedom, on the ground of his former residence in free territory. The case finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States on appeal. The practical question decided by the court was that Scott's temporary residence in free territory did not affect his status as a slave after his re-

The Republican Party Appears

The Dred Scott Decision

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

turn to Missouri, but Chief Justice Taney delivered an elaborate opinion, to which only two of the nine members of the court objected. The opinion held that negroes born in the United States descended from slave parents were not citizens, and could not become citizens by any act of Congress or of the States. Scott, therefore, could not sue in the courts.

Chief Justice Taney then went on to discuss the whole question of slavery in the territories. He held, in effect, that since the Constitution protected property, that slaves being property could be taken into any of the territories and held there; that Congress could make no law respecting slavery in the territories; and that therefore the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. A powerful dissenting opinion by Justice Curtis was presented, and thousands of copies of both were distributed.

This discussion had an indirect effect upon the election of 1860. Senator Douglas had refused to vote for the admission of Kansas with the pro-slavery constitution, which he knew to be contrary to the wishes of the residents of the territory, and his followers had prevented its acceptance by the House of Representatives. Some moderate Republicans suggested that he would be an acceptable candidate in 1860. His term as Senator for Illinois would expire in 1859, and the legislature which would choose a Senator was to be elected in 1858. Douglas was a candidate for re-election, and Abraham Lincoln, who had won some reputation as a shrewd politician and a good lawyer, was chosen as the Republican candidate. A series of joint debates was arranged, with the purpose of influencing the election of members of the legislature favourable to one or the other.

Lincoln used the Dred Scott Decision

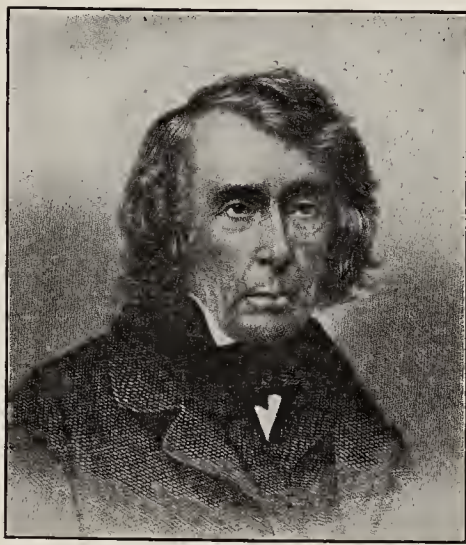
with telling effect, by forcing Douglas to state whether or not a territory could prohibit slavery in view of the Dred Scott Decision. If Douglas answered that it could, he would lose his Southern support. If he answered that it could not, then his theory fell to the ground, and he was likely to lose the Senatorship. Douglas answered that though the decision of the Supreme Court allowed slaves in all the territories,

still the institution could not exist without friendly local legislation. A territory could, therefore, by unfriendly action, make the existence of slavery practically impossible. This answer saved the Senatorship, but, as Lincoln had foreseen, lost the Southern support for the Presidency. Lincoln also maintained that if the Dred Scott Decision stood as law, a logical extension would be to declare that slave property must be protected in a free state. This idea was much discussed, and had its influence

in leading men to join the Republican party. The attention which the debate attracted made Lincoln a national figure, and a phrase in one of his speeches was much quoted. "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot exist half slave and half free." Afterward he explained that, at the time, he had no expectation that slavery would be extinguished except by economic forces.

President Buchanan seems to have been obsessed with the idea of gaining further territory. In his messages he urged the acquisition of Cuba, and the assumption of a protectorate over portions of Mexico and Central America. His idea apparently was to divert the attention of the people from the question of slavery, but it had the contrary effect. All this to the North

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates



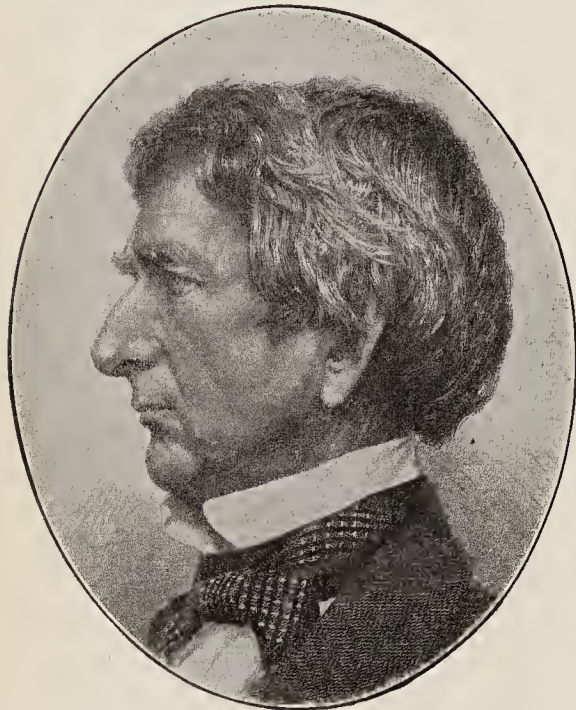
ROGER BROOKE TANEY

Was born in Maryland in 1777. He was in turn Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He delivered the Dred Scott Decision in 1857.

Foreign Policy of the Administration

seemed proof that the South was attempting to gain additional territory for slavery.

The administration saw also a period of economic distress. At the beginning the revenues exceeded the expenditures



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD

Was born in New York State in 1801. He was twice Governor of New York and was elected United States Senator as a Whig. He became a Republican and was Secretary of State for eight years, 1861-69.

and the tariff was reduced. Just then an economic crisis, due largely to too rapid construction of railroads, and to speculation in land, overtook the country, and continued during the greater part of the administration.

In 1859 occurred one of the most dramatic incidents in the whole anti-slavery struggle. The murders committed by

**John Brown
Plans an
Insurrection**

John Brown in Kansas have already been mentioned. In 1858 he confided to some of the abolitionist leaders a plan to fortify a stronghold in Virginia or Maryland, from which he could make excursions to liberate slaves. These he would arm, and as his force increased would rapidly make slavery insecure throughout the whole region, and gradually, as the movement spread, throughout the whole South. He was encouraged by all except some of the wiser leaders who forbade the expedition. Next he was again heard of in Kansas, and as

leading a party of fugitive slaves to Canada.

The next year he was again in New England, where he secured several thousand dollars for the work. With the money he bought rifles, revolvers, and about a thousand pikes for the use of those slaves who were not accustomed to firearms. He appeared at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), June 30, 1859, and leased a farm nearby, to which he brought the arms he had purchased, and to which a few followers came. On October 16, with eighteen men, he seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, held thirty of the citizens of the village as hostages, and waited for the slaves to rise. They failed to do so, troops were hurried to the scene, and on the morning of October 18, he was captured by a squad of United States marines, under Colonel Robert E. Lee of the United States army, and some Virginia militia. Four of his men were taken with him. The others escaped or were killed. The prisoners were placed in the county jail at Charleston. In due time an indictment was found; Brown was convicted, and on December 12, 1859, was hanged.

The attitude of North and South toward the event shows how utterly difficult of compromise the question had become. The greatest dread of the South was a slave insurrection, with its inevitable consequence of pillage, murder and rape, for in such insurrections, as shown in the West Indies and elsewhere, the women and children suffer most. Brown had planned precisely this thing, and to the Southerners he seemed a monster of unbelievable wickedness. In the North he was hailed as a martyr by the abolitionists. This fact, together with the certainty that the mad expedition had been financed by abolitionist money, made the people of the South believe that similar acts would become common if the Republican party gained power.

Early in 1860 the lines for the approaching contest for the Presidency were drawn. Douglas was popular with the conservatives of the North, the excitement over Kansas had died down, and it was expected that he would receive the Democratic nomination. He was

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

looked upon with less favour in the South. Jefferson Davis, Senator from Mississippi, recognised as the spokesman for the Lower South, presented a series of resolutions demanding that Congress protect slave property in the territories, in accordance with the Dred Scott Decision. It was in a sense the ultimatum of the South. If it were not granted, the threat of secession was implied.

The Democratic convention to nominate candidates met in Charleston, South Carolina, April 23, 1860. The

The Democratic Party Divides

majority refused to accept the demand mentioned above as a part of the platform, and the delegates, or the majority of them, from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas withdrew from the convention. It was impossible to get the two-thirds vote required by Democratic rule to nominate any one after so many of the delegates had withdrawn, and the convention adjourned to meet June 18, at Baltimore. There Douglas was nominated for President, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for Vice-President. A second secession at Baltimore was joined by some of the members of the first secession, together with a few Northern delegates, and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, then Vice-President, for President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President.

The Republican convention met in Chicago, and after adopting a platform took up the nomination of candidates. It

The Republican Convention

had been assumed that William H. Seward, of New York, would be the nominee, but there were several other candidates. The leaders of the party took counsel. Seward was an orator, with the orator's weakness for fine phrases. Two of his, the statement that "there is a higher law than the Constitution," and the characterisation of the contest over slavery as an "irrepressible conflict," had been spread far and wide. This notoriety would not add to his strength among the conservative men of the North, without whose support success was not possible. So the opponents of Seward decided to concentrate on the tall, awkward Lincoln, who had given

such a good account of himself in his debate with Douglas. On the first ballot he stood second, and on the third he was nominated. The ticket was completed by the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, for Vice-President.

There was an element in the nation which shrank from the bitterness of the divided Democracy and the radical Republicans alike. Some of these men were



HORACE GREELEY

Founded the New York Tribune in 1841, and became the most influential editor in the United States. He was a leader of the anti-slavery movement, but nevertheless signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis.

old line Whigs, others Union Democrats, others former Know-Nothings, patriotic Americans all, but given to turning their eyes to the past, rather than to the future. They hoped that if differences were ignored, they would disappear. So the "Constitutional Union Party" was formed and named John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts on the simple platform: "... the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

After the four-cornered fight developed, it had been the hope and the expectation of all except the Republicans that

The Election of 1860

no candidate would receive a majority of the electoral votes. The election would then be thrown into the House of Representa-

tives, voting by states as in 1825, and a Democrat would almost surely be chosen. As the campaign progressed it became evident that Lincoln was likely to be elected. Jefferson Davis, who was not anxious for secession, except as a last resort, visited Douglas with the proposition that all three candidates opposed to the triumph of the Republican party should retire and a compromise candidate be chosen. Douglas, on the ground that his supporters would almost surely vote for Lincoln, declined.

The election showed 180 votes for Lincoln, 72 for Breckenridge, 39 for Bell, and 12 for Douglas. No election has ever better shown some of the absurdities of our system of choosing electors on a general ticket. Though Lincoln received 57 electoral votes more than all his opponents combined, they received 930,170 more popular votes than he. Though Douglas received on the popular vote 441,000 more votes than Breckenridge, his electoral vote was only one-sixth as great. Only half as many votes were cast for Bell as for Douglas, and yet his electoral vote was more than three times as great.

The Republican party had been founded to prevent the extension of slavery. Its strength was entirely sectional. It contained within its ranks the avowed abolitionists. It represented so far as its short history would allow, a nationalistic policy, to which the Democrats were theoretically and practically opposed. It had been shown to be a minority party, and yet it had control of the executive branch of the government, and had made great gains in the legislative branch. Through the President's power to appoint members of the Supreme and other courts, it was likely to gain strength in the judicial branch. What would the Southern states do? The question was quickly answered.

The legislature of South Carolina was in session when the election occurred. When it was certain that Lincoln was elected, a convention was called to consider separation from the Union. The convention met December 17, and December 20, unanimously voted the repeal of the Act

of May 23, 1788, by which South Carolina had ratified the Constitution of the United States, and declared that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

In turn Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana declared themselves out of the Union, and on February 4, 1861, delegates from these states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and adopted a provisional constitution for a new confederation. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia were chosen provisional President and Vice-President respectively. Texas was at that time about to vote upon the question of secession, and delegates from that state soon appeared at Montgomery.

President Buchanan was much disturbed. An old man, devoted to his country and to his party, he had hoped that secession might be avoided during his day. Now disruption of the Union seemed imminent, and he did not know what to do. His position seemed to be that while secession was unconstitutional, the national government had no power to prevent it. He adopted a policy of delay, inclining first to one side and then to the other, and when South Carolina commissioners appeared to demand the evacuation of the forts in Charleston Harbour, announced that he would leave the question to be decided by his successor.

There was disinclination for war on both sides. The radical secessionists denounced President Davis, on the ground that his appointments and his actions looked to reunion, while Horace Greeley, in the *New York Tribune*, which had become the leading Republican organ, favoured allowing the "erring sisters to depart in peace," and this suggestion was echoed in many quarters. In the United States Senate a committee to suggest a plan of compromise had been appointed before the secession of South Carolina. The committee of thirteen contained five Republicans, and it was agreed that no measure should be reported which was not

President Buchanan's Position that secession might be avoided during his day. Now disruption of the Union seemed imminent, and he did

The Question of Secession

The Crittenden Compromise

South Carolina Leads

SLAVERY BECOMES THE LEADING ISSUE

approved by a majority of these Republican members. Many plans were submitted, the most important by John J. Crittenden, the successor of Henry Clay. The vital point in this elaborate plan was the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, with constitutional guarantee that slavery would be protected to the south of it. For a time it seemed that agreement would be reached, but a message from President-elect Lincoln to the Republican members urged them to consent to no further extension of slavery under any circumstances. The committee was forced to report that it could not agree.

Lincoln's motive was the belief that this concession would not permanently satisfy the South. He believed that the schemes for the annexation of Cuba, and for the further acquisition of territory from Mexico, suggested many times in the past, would be pressed, in order that additional territory might be gained for slavery. The platform of the Republican party had pronounced against any further extension of slavery, and upon this principle Lincoln stood firm. At the same time he did not believe war would follow. He thought the southern states would draw back before the final step.

Meanwhile, Major Anderson, in command of the forts in Charleston harbour, secretly removed his men from

Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, which could more easily be defended. This to the South Carolinians seemed a breach of faith, as they had understood that conditions would be maintained as they were. There was division among

the advisers of the President. Some wished to reinforce Major Anderson, but were at first overruled. As the Southern members of the cabinet resigned or were dismissed, the President came more under the influence of Judge Jeremiah S. Black, first Attorney General and then Secretary of State, and other strong Union men. The *Star of the West*, a merchant vessel bearing reinforcements and supplies to Fort Sumter, left New York January 5, 1861, but on attempting to enter the harbour was fired upon and driven back. With this abortive attempt to assert its authority the administration rested.

One other serious attempt at compromise was made. At the call of Virginia, delegates from twenty-two states met at

Washington, February 4, 1861, in a Peace Conference. Ex-President Tyler presided,

and the debates were held in secret. After much discussion, a constitutional amendment was suggested, which would have required a majority of both free and slave states to admit a state, and was generally less favourable to the South than the Crittenden Compromise. It was too late to receive consideration. A proposition to submit the Crittenden Compromise to the people was also defeated in Congress. Meanwhile the time for the inauguration of the new President approached. He came secretly to Washington, and March 4, 1861, was inaugurated the sixteenth President of the United States, now apparently disunited. No other President had ever faced such a situation as now confronted him.

The Question of Fort Sumter



THE NEGROES AND THE COTTON FIELD



A VIEW OF THE NIAGARA RIVER ABOVE THE FALLS



THE FAMOUS HORSESHOE FALLS, WITH A DESCENT OF 158 FT.



THE RAPIDS BELOW THE FALLS

SCENES OF THE WONDERFUL NIAGARA FALLS

AMERICA



THE
UNITED
STATES
XIII

THE UNITED STATES IN 1860

IN 1860 the United States included thirty-three states, with Kansas knocking at the doors for admission.

**Territorial
Extent
in 1860**

Twenty states had been added to the original thirteen. All the country east of the Mississippi was now a solid block of states. To the west of the great river a tier of states stretched from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. To the west of Louisiana lay the great extent of Texas, as yet but sparsely inhabited. To the west of all these states lay great regions, for the most part inhabited only by roving bands of Indians. Kansas and Nebraska had been organised into territories, and an Indian territory had also been laid out, to which the red men had been transferred from the east, when the progress of settlement demanded their lands. Through the unsettled portions, a few wandering trappers and hunters roved at will, but much of the land was considered to be desert and unfit for human habitation. On the Pacific, separated from the other states by great mountain ranges and hundreds of miles of plain, lay the new states of California and Oregon.

The population in 1860 was 31,443,000, compared with 3,929,000 in 1790. The larger part of the great increase was natural, for race suicide was not a question in the early decades of the century. Large families were

**Population
and
Immigration**

the rule, and the rate of increase astonished all students of population. Europe, however, had contributed a large share. Between 1820 and 1860 more than five millions, chiefly Irish and Germans, had come to the United States, and of these more than four millions were alive in 1860. This immigration had settled almost entirely in the Northern states. For this fact, the lack of manufacturing in the South was partly responsible. Another reason, important in all its bear-

ings, was the fact that free labour would not, or could not, compete with slavery in agriculture, and the organisation of society in the North was more favourable to free labour. The white population in the South then was almost exclusively native-born, while in some of the Northern states the proportion of foreign-born was large. A part of the foreign population had settled in the large cities. Another part had gone to the farms and villages in the West.

The economic progress of the United States had been astonishing. The great tracts of free land had made the mere task of making a living easy.

**Economic
Progress**

Nowhere else in all the world were so few people hungry or insufficiently clothed. Wealth had enormously increased, faster even than the increase in population. Improvements in agricultural machinery enabled a smaller percentage of the population to produce food for all, and much for export. The reaping machine, invented in 1834, and soon much improved, enabled a few men to do the work of many on the Western plains; and other new machines for planting and cultivating were hardly less important. The value of the wheat and corn crops of the Northwest almost tripled between 1850 and 1860. Another part of the population, principally slaves, produced the great crops of cotton for which Europe was eager to pay.

Railroad construction, beginning about 1830, grew with marvellous rapidity. Both federal and state governments had made immense grants of land in aid. In 1860 about 30,000 miles were in operation. The greatest development was in New England and in the old Northwest Territory, now divided into five thriving states. Previous to the construction of railroads, the chief dependence for transportation easier than the wagon had been streams and canals, but after the advan-

tages of railroads were discovered, fewer miles of canals were built. The railroad also linked the West with the East, and its social effect was hardly less important than the economic.

One of these canals, however, must be mentioned more fully. It is the Erie Canal, completed in 1825, and still in operation; and upon which the people of New York have recently spent an immense sum for improvement and enlargement. The canal which connects the Hudson River with Lake Erie was the greatest engineering work of the day. Its construction was largely due to the faith and perseverance of one man, De Witt Clinton, four times governor of New York.

After completion in 1825, its reciprocal influence upon the prosperity of New York and the states to the west was immediately apparent. To it is chiefly due the beginning of that rapid growth which has made New York the chief city of the western hemisphere. Through this waterway the products of the Northwest found an outlet to the sea, and in return that section could receive the manufactured articles required. The receipts from tolls were so large that the entire cost of construction was paid within ten years.

Another fact leading to the decay of canals was the development of steam navigation. Beginning in the United States with the successful trip of the "Clermont" built by Robert Fulton in

1807, steamboats were soon to be found on all the larger interior waters, though it was not until thirty years later that a boat crossed the Atlantic entirely by steam power. The development of the railroads, however, injured steam navigation upon the smaller rivers in the years just before the war, though its effects upon transportation on the greater rivers were less noticeable. With the application of steam the shipping industry revived. Aided by the attitude of the general government, American ships were found in every sea. Between 1830 and 1850 the tonnage increased ten-fold, and the profits were large.

Other inventions had a part in the

great industrial development. The electric telegraph, invented by Professor S. F. B. Morse, was proved to be a success in 1844, and soon lines were constructed in every part of the country. Elias Howe invented the sewing machine in 1846, and with the improvements of Isaac M. Singer and others soon revolutionised the manufacture of clothing. Charles Goodyear invented a method of vulcanising rubber, and friction matches were introduced. Printing presses and cooking stoves were improved, and illuminating gas began to be used.

The first cotton factory was established in Rhode Island in 1790. At first the growth was slow, but the Embargo, and the War of 1812 gave great opportunities for the American manufacturer to take possession of the home market. After about 1825, manufacturing became the most important interest in New England. Mills were also built in the Middle States, and a few in the South. In that section, however, there was no such development as in New England. The establishments were nearly all small, and aimed to satisfy only the local demand. Though the number of these Southern factories was nearly fifteen per cent. of the total, the proportion of spindles was less than six per cent. The section, therefore, was compelled to buy the greater part of the cotton goods demanded from New England or from abroad.

The same is true of other manufactures. Jamestown smelted iron ore in 1624, and in nearly every colony more or less iron was made by the crude processes of the time. In the South these small furnaces or "bloomeries" were not developed, and the people grew to depend upon other supplies. In 1860, the South produced only a little more than 2,500 tons of pig iron out of a total of nearly 900,000 tons. Pennsylvania took the lead in this industry.

This does not mean that there were not skilful mechanics and artisans in the South. There were many such, but they worked almost entirely in small establishments to supply a local demand. On all the large plantations were slave mechanics, who could do all

work not requiring exceptional skill. Many of these great plantations were little worlds in themselves, with mechanics of all sorts. There were few establishments where any considerable number of workmen were gathered together, which could be expanded at need.

The South was pre-eminently agricultural, and its ideals were planters' ideals. Though a lawyer himself, Jefferson always held that trade, manufacturing, the professions, all were inferior pursuits, compared with agriculture.

**The Southern
Ideal of
Success**

He said: "Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people," and this ideal, somewhat transformed, influenced the South. The dream of a boy in the richer sections, was not, as to-day, to become a millionaire, with a yacht, a stable, a private car and a castle in Europe, but to become the owner of a plantation with its broad acres. It is a spirit similar to that working to-day in our successful men who are buying dozens of farms, and uniting them into country estates.

In the old South every successful merchant, or professional man, had a plantation, on which he spent a considerable part of his time, and to which he expected to retire with advancing years.

**Southern
Energy turned
into Politics**

Though a successful planter was forced to give personal attention to his business, there was time for thought as he rode on his tours of inspection. The greater part of his thoughts was given to politics and to constitutional law. The relations between men were chiefly personal, and it was the orator rather than the editor who was influential in forming public opinion. In the West, the orator was likewise influential, but in the Northeast the newspaper was beginning to usurp the place of the speaker, though the influence of the "lyceum lecture" was important.

With such a state of society, cities naturally failed to grow in the South, and for that matter, they have not grown yet. In 1860 hardly half a dozen places deserved the name of a city. In other parts of the Union there was great urban development. With the

growth of the cities came great newspapers, and publishing houses grew up. Magazines were begun, a few of which, as *Harper's* and the *Atlantic*, have survived to the present day. In their pages some of the names which began American literature found a place. Notwithstanding the greater difficulties, some efforts to furnish avenues for literary efforts were made in the South, and the *Southern Literary Messenger* had an honourable, if not a profitable existence.

A few men in the United States were making a living by literature, and frequently consular and diplomatic appointments went to such men.

**American
Literature
Begins**

Washington Irving, George Bancroft, John Lothrop Motley and Nathaniel Hawthorne were some of the men thus honoured. Up till about 1830 little of literary value had been produced in the United States. From that time until the period of which we are speaking, there were many good craftsmen, but perhaps only one genius, Edgar Allan Poe, though some of Hawthorne's work must be given high place. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry W. Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, James Russell Lowell, William Gilmore Simms, John G. Whittier, and dozens of others were publishing essays, novels and poems. George Bancroft, J. L. Motley, and William H. Prescott had published histories of solid worth.

Then came the beginnings of an American school of art. Though these men painted in a style which is now obsolete, they strove to express themselves, were able to do something for the artistic enrichment of the country,

**American
Artists and
Sculptors**

and laid a foundation for others. Then, too, there were a few sculptors, none of them of the front rank, but interesting because they were the first to adopt such a profession in an inartistic land. Horatio Greenough modelled the statue of Washington in Washington; Hiram Powers produced the Greek Slave which shocked the sturdy Puritans of his day; Thomas Crawford, William Wetmore Story, Thomas Ball, and Clark Mills are all interesting, historically at least.

The strict Puritan theology of an earlier day was no longer dominant in

New England. Before the end of the first hundred years in the new land, there had been unmistakable evidence of revolt, which had grown stronger with the years. Many of the congregations quietly adopted Unitarianism, and those who did not formally do so were affected by the liberal theology. The Puritan habit of mind, the way of looking at things, lasted much longer. Men felt as certain of the correctness of their positions, and were, in a way, as intolerant of opposition to their particular belief as their ancestors had been toward Quakerism for example. In no other way can the abolitionists be explained.

The stern Calvinism of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians persisted longer, and, in fact, is a persistent force to-day. They had never been so intolerant as the Puritans because they came to America a century later for one reason, and secondly, at no time had they ever been in a majority in any colony, and so able to enforce their will upon others. Religious toleration was well established in America before they came, and they accepted the separation of church and state without question. At the same time they were rigid and uncompromising in the assertion and maintenance of their positions.

An interesting movement was the rise of Methodism, which was officially organised in the United States in 1784, and spread rapidly, particularly in the South and West. The organisation was marvellously efficient for missionary work. The circuit riders, as the ministers were often called, travelled through the country, preaching at more or less regular intervals in schoolhouses, halls, private houses or out-of-doors, enduring privations and hardships which would have checked men of less sturdy fibre. They spent themselves freely for the cause. Camp meetings lasting for a week or more were held. To these meetings the settlers came and encamped around a rude shelter, often constructed of boughs of trees. Several services were held daily, and there was much display of a peculiar kind of emotionalism. Individuals would become transported and "shout," or would be taken with the "jerks," as a certain inability to co-or-

dinate the muscles was called. Gradually as the circumstances of the members improved, substantial church edifices were constructed, and the denomination became a powerful force in the United States.

There had been Baptists in the colonies in colonial days, but their form of church government was congregational. They united in the formation of a general convention in 1814, though many of their old members seceded from the ranks. The conservatives came to be known as Primitive Baptists, while the progressives were known as Missionary Baptists. The conservatives were strictly Calvinistic in their theology, and opposed all innovations, such as foreign missions. The Baptists spread over the newly settled parts of the country along with the Methodists, and like the Methodists, the members grew in numbers, wealth, and importance.

The Anglican Church, after the Revolution, was handicapped by the fact that perhaps a majority of the clergy had been Loyalists, and also by the connection of church and state in England. It was able to secure an American organisation in 1786, and was thereby saved from extinction, which was threatening. It became strong in the Eastern states, but for a long time did little missionary work on the frontier. Meanwhile the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians had stepped forward to become the organisations of the great mass of the people. There were other denominations, of course, but the Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, and Quakers, grew chiefly by natural increase of the young people born into the congregations. The Roman Catholics were strong in Maryland, and missionary effort built little centres of activity in various parts of the country. Immigration, principally Irish, gave them great increase in numbers, but prejudice was too strong to allow them to gain greatly among the old Protestant stock. Religion was one of the ever-present vital questions in life in this period of the development of the United States.

The religious denominations even had felt the influence of sectionalism, and several of them divided on the question

**The Churches
Divide on
Slavery**

of slavery. The Methodist Church, which was strong in both sections, divided in 1844, because of differences growing out of the fact that one of the bishops had married a woman who owned slaves. The Baptist churches of the South separated from those of the North in 1845, and division in the Presbyterian denomination was imminent in 1860.

While upon the subject of religion, the Mormons must be mentioned. In 1830 Joseph Smith published what he claimed was an English translation of the inscriptions on some golden plates which had been shown to him by an angel. The book purported to be the story of an Israelitish migration to America, and of the adventure of a mighty hero, Mormon. An organisation was formed, which soon moved to Ohio. Next they removed to Missouri, but were driven out and settled at Nauvoo, Illinois. Dissensions arose, and the attitude of the people was unfriendly. While Smith and several of the other leaders were in jail, a mob broke into the prison and killed Smith and his brother.

The new leader, Brigham Young, determined to find a place for the sect in the wilderness, and in 1847 a party arrived at Salt Lake, in the present state of Utah, then Mexican territory, though soon ceded to the United States. There, by almost superhuman effort, apparently unfavourable conditions of soil and climate were overcome, and the settlement prospered. The government was a pure theocracy. At the head was the prophet president, with counsellors, apostles, patriarchs, etc. From time to time the prophet patriarch received divine revelations. In obedience to such a revelation, polygamy, or rather plurality of wives, was introduced in 1852. Missionaries visited the East, and Europe, and many converts joined the settlements, which gradually spread. Since Salt Lake City was on the wagon route to California, it became an important supply station.

After the Mexican cession of the western territory, the Mormons organised the "State of Deseret" and applied unsuccessfully for admission to the Union.

However, when Utah Territory was created in 1850, Brigham Young was appointed the first governor. On account of disorders in 1856, troops were sent to the territory in 1857, and remained for several years. Later strong efforts on the part of the United States Government to break up polygamy were rewarded in 1890 by the issue of a manifesto by President Woodruff, forbidding the practice.

Great interest in education developed after the Revolution. Massachusetts had established a system of free public schools during the colonial period; and the policy was continued after the Revolution. Other of the Eastern states did the same, though at first the schools were regarded as charitable institutions for the poor. In the Western states a part of the public lands had been set apart for public instruction and there the development was rapid. In the South, except in North Carolina, little interest seems to have been taken. During this period many colleges and academies were founded. Many of them have not survived to the present, but others have grown with the years. The largest proportion of college students was in the South; the largest proportion of the children in the common schools was to be found in New England.

We have already stated in the preceding chapter that seven states had seceded before Lincoln's inauguration. Four others were to follow. Let us now note the comparative resources of the sections which were to contend for four years in one of the greatest wars of history up to that time. The seceding states had something more than 9,000,000 of population, compared with more than 22,000,000 in the states that remained in the Union. Of this 9,000,000 about 3,500,000 were slaves. The North had at least 5,000,000 men of military age, the South, less than 1,500,000.

The manufacturing enterprises were, for the most part, located in the North. The ships were owned in the North, and sailed almost exclusively from Northern ports. The larger number of skilled mechanics lived in the North. The railroad mileage was several times

**Education
in the
United States**

**The Mormons
Move
West**

**Resources,
North and
South**

as great, and there were many more cities and towns. In some of the Southern states, cotton so engrossed the attention of the people that sufficient food was not produced for the population. The cotton crop was enormously valuable, and furnished two-thirds of the exports of the whole country, but everything else was sacrificed to it.

Apparently the cause was lost before the contest began. There were, however, it was thought, compensating advantages, some of which proved to be real. It was not the intention to invade the North if war arose, but to await attack, and defense of interior lines requires fewer men than offensive campaigns. The population of the South was predominantly rural, and accustomed to firearms and to horses from boyhood, while many of the Northern recruits had to be taught to ride and to shoot. During the Mexican War the Southern states had provided the greater part of the fighting force, and more Southerners than Northerners had gained a knowledge of the requirements of actual warfare. Then, too, the Southerner was thought to be more self-reliant, to have a certain spirit which was lacking in the clerk or the mechanic of the North. Further, the Southern leaders felt that in the cotton crop they controlled a power which would compel the manufacturing world to come to their assistance.

Neither side believed that the other would fight. The Southern men thought that the men of the North were too much engaged in business and trade to risk the dislocation of industry sure to be caused by a contest. They felt that the textile industries of New England, which would be cut off from their supplies of cotton, if war should come, would exert a powerful influence for peace. Other industries in the North had depended for their prosperity almost entirely upon the Southern trade, and they felt that these men would exert all their influence toward peace, rather than see England and other countries of Europe gain this trade in return for cotton. New England business men had refused to sup-

port the War of 1812 because of the injury done to their business. Would they not do it again? More than all else the Southerners relied upon the great body of conservative Northern Democrats, to whom the doctrines of the Republican party were hateful, to act as a restraining influence.

On the other hand, Northerners thought that the risk of the South was too great to permit the section to hazard a separation. Without a natural boundary between the two countries, slaves could easily slip over, and without a Fugitive Slave Law the border states would lose all their slaves. Then, too, without manufacturing establishments or ships, it was thought that the South with its smaller population would not dare to fight against overwhelming odds, and run the risk of a slave insurrection in addition.

Both sides were wrong in their predictions and their theories. The clerks and mechanics did fight. They learned the trade of war, even if they were lacking in the rudiments in the beginning. England did not interfere, even though great distress was caused among the workers on account of the lack of cotton. The Northern Democrats were not able to prevent the war. The New Englanders did not repeat their action of 1812-14. On the other hand the South took the risk of fighting against greater numbers, of losing the slaves, of slave insurrections, and of making war without an establishment for the manufacture of war material.

The statement is often made that secession was forced by a few large slaveholders, who afterward led the non-slaveholders to battle. Such assertions show lack of knowledge of Southern conditions. The leaders had made the connection between slavery and States' Rights and had seemed to show that the two were inseparable. Then the leaders had difficulty in some of the states in holding the people back. Once convinced that the state was in danger, the Southerners were ready to move faster than some of the leaders. The correspondence of Jefferson Davis, for example, shows that many men after-

ward prominent in the Confederacy were exceedingly reluctant to act. Mr. James Ford Rhodes, speaking of the secession movement, well says: "It needed, as do all movements, leaders to give it expression, but planters and lawyers of local influence, village attorneys, cross-road stump speakers, journalists, and the people acted on the men of national reputation, instead of being led by them. It is very doubtful whether . . . could have prevented secession, for had they not headed the movement, the people would have found other leaders."

On the other hand, careless writers have written as if all the Confederate soldiers were slaveholders. Since the

Distribution of Slavery slave population was hardly more than one-third of the total, such an idea is manifestly absurd. In the At-

lantic South there were three sections. In the mountainous regions, where the amount of arable land was small, there were few slaves. The Piedmont, or hill country, was a land of small farms, where the greater part of the population owned no slaves, and a smaller proportion, a small number. In this section, however, were a few great plantations along the rivers, on which the number of slaves was larger. The stronghold of slavery was on the Atlantic and the Gulf coasts, and along the lower Mississippi. Here were great bodies of level land on which slaves could be employed to advantage.

In 1860 there were in all the slaveholding states 384,000 slaveholders. The white population of these states was more than 12,000,000. Evidently not one person in thirty held slaves, or reducing the population to families, about one family in five held slaves. More than half of the slaveholders in North Carolina held less than five; only one hundred and thirty-three held one hundred or more.

Some of the leading men, and a large proportion of the great captains of the war held no slaves. Robert E. Lee in-

Leaders Who Owned No Slaves herited a few, but had emancipated them before the war. Joseph E. Johnston, A. P. Hill and Fitzhugh

Lee had never owned a slave. "Stonewall" Jackson had owned two, which

he bought at their own request; one was allowed to buy his freedom, the other refused. J. E. B. Stuart, the dashing cavalry commander, owned two in his lifetime, but at the outbreak of the war held none. In the famous "Stonewall Brigade" the proportion of slaveholders is estimated at one in thirty.

These men were not consciously fighting for slavery. The theory of the paramount allegiance to their states had

Paramount Allegiance Due to the State become a part of their being, and they held their first duty was to the commonwealth in which they

lived. As they saw it, the national government was attempting to coerce their states, which had exercised their constitutional right to withdraw from a compact which they had entered, and which they believed to be working to their injury. This does not mean that the question of slavery did not precipitate the war, or that there might not — probably would not — have been a war but for slavery. If slavery had not existed, the development of some of the slaveholding states would have been different. In 1810 North Carolina's textile production, for example, was greater than that of Massachusetts, and it seemed that the logical development would be into a frugal manufacturing state. The growth of slavery prevented such a development. Such states would naturally have shared the general change of attitude toward the general government, which slowly took place between 1789 and 1860 in the Northern States.

The truth is that the Southern States had stood still. Their theories of government were the same as in the beginning, while the remainder of the country had been changed. When the Constitution was offered to the

The South Had Stood Still states, Massachusetts was insistent on including what is now the tenth amendment limiting the powers of the general government to those specifically granted and reserving all others to the states or the people. Madison and Jefferson in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions definitely set forth the compact theory of government. Suggestions of secession had been frequent in the early years. The New England states, during the first

twenty-five years of the United States, had several times threatened to secede. What might have happened if the War of 1812 had not come to an abrupt end, we can only surmise. There had been

great conservative force. In the Northwest the population was partly drawn from the East, partly from Europe. This European immigration was nationalistic in idea. The state meant little or



NEGRO HOME-LIFE IN THE OLD PLANTATION DAYS

some early discussion of a southern republic; the Western states were restless until the mouth of the Mississippi was gained by the Louisiana Purchase. As the West grew in population, many men felt that the vastness of the country would necessitate separation into an eastern and a western nation.

The railroad destroyed the supposed necessity of such a separation. The transformation of New England from a shipping into a manufacturing section, with its consequent dependence upon the national government, worked a great change in the attitude of that section. The Western states were creations of the national government. In the Southwest the population was drawn almost entirely from the older slaveholding states, and the ideas of the old were transferred to the new, together with the institution of slavery, a

nothing to it. The great development of methods of transportation bound this section closer to the East. All these things helped to foster the growth of a nationalistic spirit.

No paper, no agreement, can forever bind the life of a growing people. In such cases, the written word must always give way, either by interpretation, or by repudiation.

In the North the Union had come to mean more than the state. The loose-construction decisions of the Supreme Court had enabled the government to do many things. When a halt was called to the process, the ideas which had slowly, but no less surely, taken possession of the minds of the men of the free states, were enforced upon the more conservative section, which had not moved from the old position. The South had held fast to the Constitution of the Fathers.



THE WAR TO PRESERVE THE UNION

FOUR YEARS OF HARD FIGHTING TO DESTROY THE CONFEDERACY

THE new President, Abraham Lincoln, had been born in a log cabin in Kentucky in 1809. His father, a shiftless, hopeless incompetent, moved his family from Kentucky to Indiana, to Illinois, and then from place to place within that state without ever providing proper support. His mother, a woman of high character, and apparently of considerable natural ability, though barely able to read, died young, as did so many of the frontier women of the day. Much speculation as to the source of their son's ability has brought small results, but investigation seems to show that both father and mother came of good stock. The boy attended school not more than a year altogether, but was an omnivorous reader of the few books to be found in his neighbourhood, and pondered well what he read.

As he grew to manhood his occupations were varied. He worked on a farm, in the woods, on a flat boat on the Mississippi, in a store. In 1832 he was captain of a company of volunteers against the Indians, but saw no fighting. Afterward he kept a store, served as postmaster, and surveyed land, studying law meanwhile. He was admitted to the bar in 1836, and soon became known as a successful jury lawyer, but took a keener interest in politics. From 1847 to 1849 he was a Whig member of the House of Representatives. He was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and campaigned his state in opposition, holding several joint debates with Stephen A. Douglas. In the Republican National Convention of 1856, he received some votes for the nomination for

**Early
Life of
Lincoln**

**Lincoln
Becomes Bet-
ter Known**

the Vice-Presidency. The historic series of debates with Douglas in 1858, already mentioned, made him in some degree a national figure, and he received and accepted several invitations to speak in the East. Thousands, however, had never heard of him when he was nominated for President. The circumstances of that nomination and of his election to the Presidency have already been told.

His inaugural address set forth clearly his position and his policy. He declared the Union to be perpetual; that no state could lawfully get out of it; that he would execute the laws in all the states; that there would be no bloodshed unless it was forced upon the national authority. At the same time he declared that there was no intention of interfering with slavery, and he indicated his belief in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. In the South the address was taken to mean war. As members of his Cabinet he named some of his chief rivals for the Presidency—William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Simon Cameron and Edward Bates. These names further alarmed the South. While Seward was now for compromise, his name had been associated with radical utterances too long for the South to believe in a change of heart, while Chase was avowedly radical.

The first weeks, Lincoln was almost overwhelmed by office seekers who swarmed to Washington as they had not done since the first election of Jackson. The question of the loyalty of the army was ever present. Dozens of officers were resigning, and whether many of those who had not resigned would re-

**The
Inaugural
Address**

**Worry
in
Washington**

main loyal was something no one could answer. Then always in the background of his thoughts was Fort Sumter. Many of his counsellors, including at first a majority of the Cabinet, believed it unwise to reinforce the garrison. The President did not express his intentions at the time.

Meanwhile agents of the Confederate government were in Washington, hoping to arrange peaceably the machinery of

separation, to secure the evacuation of Fort Sumter and to adjust accounts. Seward promised them or allowed them to infer, apparently on his own responsibility, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated. On April 8, however, relief ships sailed for Charleston. The President had made up his mind. The news reached Charleston, and soon General Beauregard, in command of the forces in Charleston, demanded the surrender of the fort. Major Anderson asked three days, agreeing to surrender on April 15, unless reinforced, or ordered otherwise by his superior officers. General Beauregard's aides, without referring the answer to him or to President Davis, ordered bombardment to begin about 4:30 A. M. on the morning of April 12. Apparently they feared a peaceful solution of the difficulties. After thirty-four hours the fort was severely damaged both by shells and by fire, and a part of the magazine had blown up. Major Anderson accepted General Beauregard's previous offer, and marched out with the honours of war on April 14, 1861.

Not a man had been killed on either side, but never was a battle more important. The effect was electrical. The North was convinced that the time for discussion was ended. The South had been the aggressor and now war must come. Many thoughtful men had had serious doubts about the right of the national government to coerce a state, but the bombardment of Sumter had changed everything. The Northern Democrats rallied to the defense of the Union. Douglas issued an appeal urging all his friends to stand by the flag. The President immediately called for 75,000 volunteers, and three weeks later for 42,000 more, but according to the Militia Act of 1795 the term of enlistment was

only three months. The regular army and navy were both to be increased. The response was immediate, and on July 1, there were 310,000 men under arms. On April 19 Lincoln ordered a blockade of the Southern ports. Every effort was



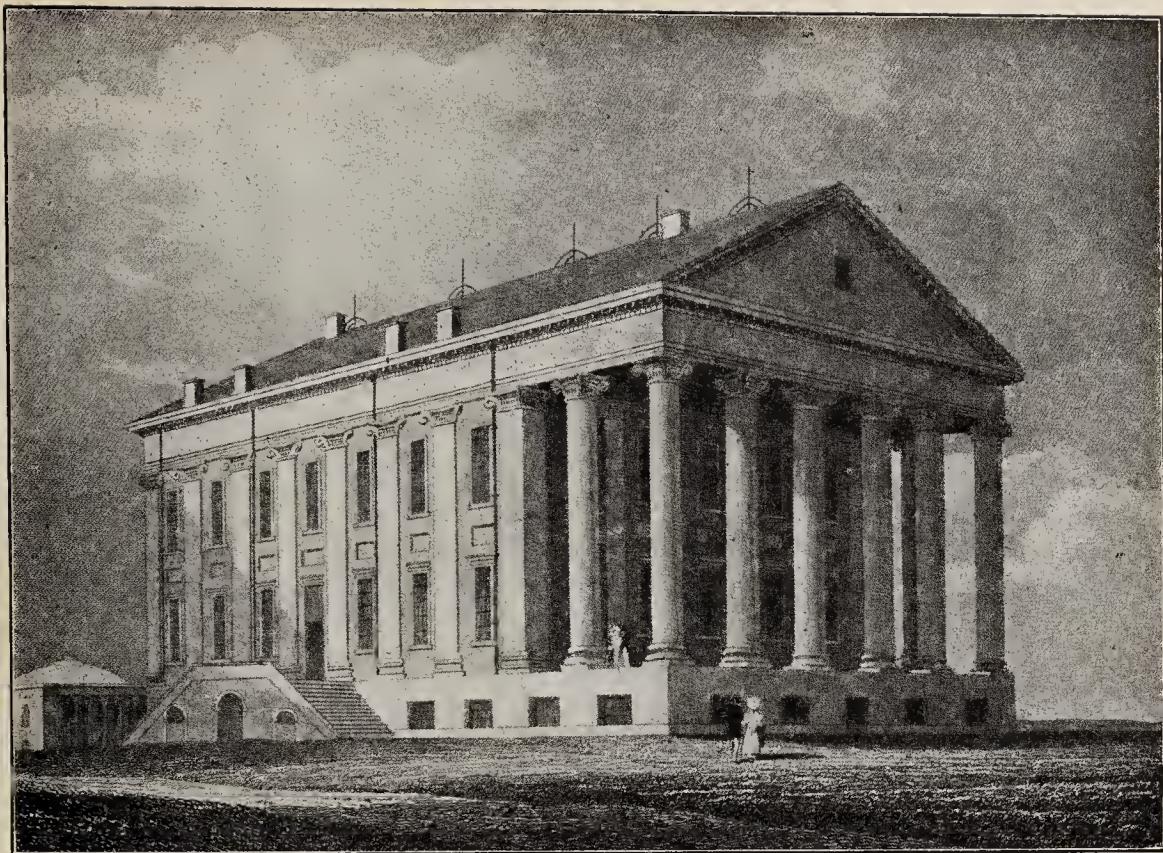
PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD
Was born in Louisiana, 1818, graduated at West Point, and was superintendent of that institution when Louisiana seceded. He resigned, entered the Confederate service, and continued to the end of the war.

made to build and buy additional vessels to make the blockade effective.

In the South there was also action. When the demand for their quota of volunteers came to the border states, and

they faced the alternative of fighting with or against their neighbours, whom they believed to be acting upon constitutional rights, four — Arkansas (May 6), North Carolina (May 20), Virginia (May 23), and Tennessee (June 8) — seceded. Of these the Virginia convention had passed an ordinance of secession on April 17, though it was not ratified by the people until the date given above. The convention in Tennessee likewise voted to secede May 8, subject to ratification by the people. In Arkansas and North Carolina the ordinances were not submitted to the people. North Carolina, therefore, was the last state to leave the Union. Previously the state had refused to call a convention.

The Border States Secede



THE CAPITOL OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES

This beautiful building was planned by Thomas Jefferson as the state-house for Virginia. During the great war it was the Confederate Capitol. It still stands, though two wings have been added which somewhat lessen the beauty of the building, which was modelled after the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.

The other slave states remained in the Union. There was little secession sentiment in Delaware. Maryland remained in the Union, though there

**Other
States in
the Balance**

was a large secession minority, which might have carried the state over but for its position north of Washington. As it was, secession mobs attacked the Sixth Massachusetts passing through Baltimore on the way for the defense of Washington. Kentucky was drawn in both directions and determined to remain neutral. This position it retained until Confederate troops were upon its soil when it came out for the Union. Missouri was retained in the Union by the prompt work of F. P. Blair, and Nathaniel Lyon, who raised troops, seized St. Louis and called a convention which deposed Governor Jackson, a secessionist. All of these states furnished soldiers to both armies and families were often divided. Union sentiment was so strong in western Virginia that a new state was formed, somewhat irregularly, under the protection of bayonets, and admitted to the Union in April, 1863. The moun-

tain population of North Carolina and Tennessee was also opposed to secession, and furnished many soldiers to the Union cause.

A large proportion of the officers of the regular army and navy resigned after their native states seceded. Among them were Robert E. Lee, considered by General Scott the ablest officer in the army, and to whom the command of the Federal Army, as we shall now call it, had been unofficially tendered; Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, and many others. These resignations left the regular army much disorganised. The proportion of naval officers resigning was also very large, but their places could be more easily filled from the merchant marine.

After Virginia and the other border states joined the Confederacy, the Confederate government was transferred to

**Richmond
Becomes the
Confederate Capital** Richmond in May, 1861, and the Confederate Congress met in the Virginia State-house. The two capitals were comparatively near together. Since it was the

purpose of the Confederacy to repel invasion, small armies were stationed at different points in Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri. The first contests occurred in western Virginia, where General George B. McClellan, the Federal commander, gained the advantage. General Joseph E. Johnston with a small Confederate force held Harper's Ferry, memorable because of the John Brown raid. On the approach of General Robert Patterson, he evacuated the position but awaited attack.

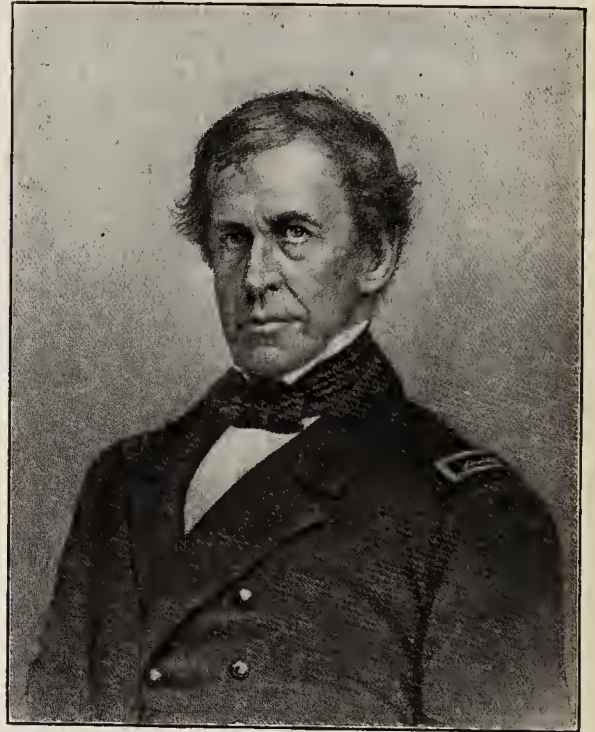
The volunteers kept pouring into Washington, and soon the people began to wonder why an advance was not made. The civilians could not understand that an army does not grow in a night. The newspapers took up the cry: "On to Richmond." The term of enlistment of many of the volunteers was about to expire, and therefore it was determined to advance. General Patterson was ordered to prevent Joseph E. Johnston from joining the army stationed at Manassas under General Beauregard.

General Irwin McDowell, with about 30,000 men, crossed the Potomac and advanced to meet General P. G. T.

Bull Run or Manassas Beauregard, who had, however, been joined by General Johnston with a part of his army. The opposing forces

met July 21, 1861, at Bull Run, or Manassas. Both sides fought bravely at first, and the result was in doubt, but additional Confederate forces, the remainder of Johnston's army, evading General Patterson, who had been expected to hold them in check, appeared on the battlefield, and the Federal forces retreated. The retreat became a rout, and many did not stop until they were safe in Washington. Such was the confusion that many went on to their homes. Many prisoners were taken, including some of the many civilians who had driven out to see the battle. Perhaps if the Confederate forces had pursued, Washington might have been taken, but the men were tired, and somewhat disorganised by the pursuit. It was determined to delay the advance until the next day; a heavy rain fell, and the Virginia roads were impassable for the next week. Mud perhaps saved Washington.

This defeat brought the North to a realisation of the task. An army of 500,000 volunteers had already been called for, and a grim determination to succeed at all costs was born. General George B. McClellan, who had been successful in minor operations in western Virginia, was called to Washington and placed in command. He at once set out



CAPTAIN CHARLES WILKES, U. S. N.

Had gained some note as an Antarctic explorer. By taking the Confederate commissioners from a British ship he nearly involved the United States in a war.

to make an army from the horde of undisciplined and untrained volunteers. For the remainder of the year the Eastern army, soon to be called the Army of the Potomac, made no move of importance.

Some of the Confederates were unduly elated, thinking that success was now certain. Nevertheless, volunteers

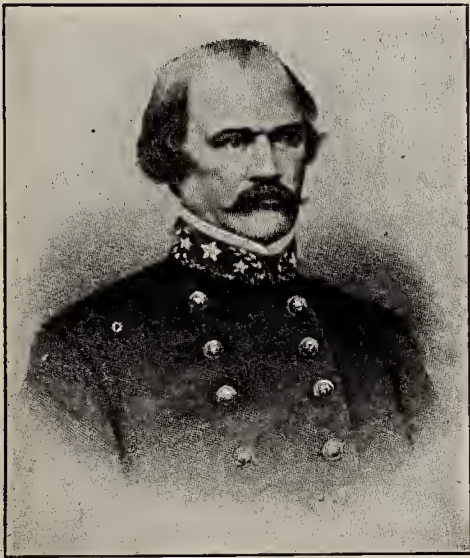
continued to enroll, but generally for short terms of service. No adequate efforts to secure funds were made, except by the issue of the bonds and paper money. The first regular election occurred in the autumn and Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens were elected President and Vice-President respectively for the full term of six years provided by the Constitution of the Confederate States.

The Confederacy had hoped for recog-

**Southern
Opinion
of Success**

THE WAR TO PRESERVE THE UNION

nition by European powers, on account of the importance of the cotton crop. A large and influential element in England was favourable to such action, but the general opposition to slavery prevented recognition. The Confederacy was granted belligerent rights, however, and France also recognised the Confederates as belligerents, not as insurgents. Much



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

Was by many considered to be the ablest general on either side. He was killed at Shiloh, before he had had an opportunity to show the full extent of his ability.

abuse was lavished upon these nations, England particularly, for this action.

Later in 1861, however, an incident occurred which almost turned the scale and all but transformed England into an active opponent of the United States. Messrs.

England and the "Trent Affair" J. M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate com-

missioners to England and France respectively, escaped through the blockade to Havana, where they took passage on the British mail steamer *Trent*. The steamer was overhauled November 8, 1861, by the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, and the two commissioners and their secretaries were taken off. The action was applauded almost unanimously in the North, and the thanks of Congress were voted to Captain Wilkes. English indignation at the insult to her flag was extreme. A fleet was mobilised, 8,000 troops were

sent to Canada, and a demand for the surrender of the commissioners was sent to the United States. Lincoln and Seward realised the danger of war, gave up the commissioners and trouble was averted.

During the course of the war there were twenty-four hundred engagements of greater or less importance. In nearly nineteen hundred of these at least a regiment was engaged, and in one hundred and twelve the loss exceeded five hundred men. Great volumes have been written on single campaigns, or even on single battles. It is manifestly impossible here to do anything more than to mention the most important of these contests, keeping always in mind the effect upon the final outcome of the war.

The military plans included action by both fleet and army. The fleet was expected to do three things, namely, to blockade the coast, to assist the army, and to capture the Southern ports. Two invasions of the South had been planned, one in the East, and the other across the Allegheny mountains. The Eastern invasion had failed. The Western was more successful. The Confederate attempt to make the Ohio River the line of defense failed. Both Kentucky and Missouri were soon almost free from Confederate forces. During 1861 the Confederate forces had the advantage in the East, but in the West the reverse was true.

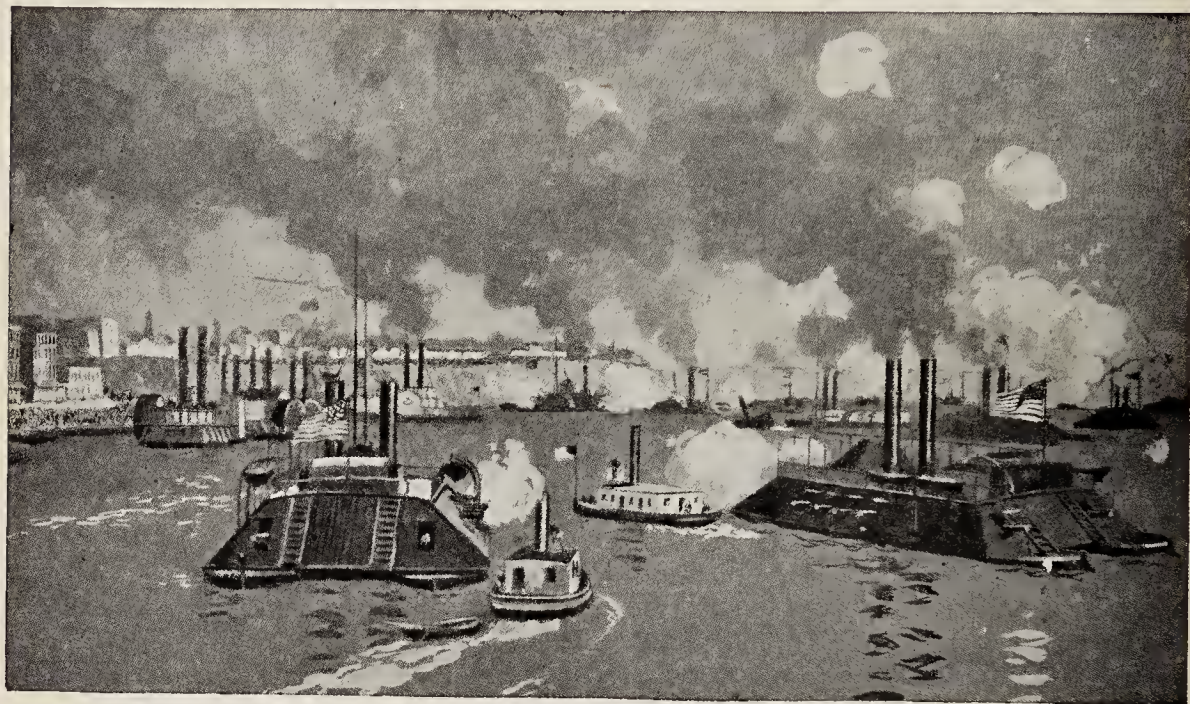
The Western army took the offensive earlier in 1862. General U. S. Grant, a West Point graduate who had resigned from the army several years before, delivered a telling blow by the capture of Fort Henry on the Tennessee River (February 6) and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland with its garrison of 15,000 men (February 16). This success uncovered Nashville and compelled the Confederate forces to fall back to the northern boundary of Mississippi. Grant followed by way of the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, where he expected to be joined by General Buell. Before Buell arrived, and in the temporary absence of Grant, his forces were attacked by Generals Albert Sidney Johnston and Beauregard and driven back. Defeat seemed certain, but John-

Shiloh
or Pittsburg
Landing

ston was killed, night was coming on, and Beauregard halted to reform his troops, expecting to complete the victory the next day. Meanwhile General Buell arrived with 24,000 fresh troops, and the next day after a hard battle the Confederates retreated to Corinth, which was soon besieged. This was the battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, April 6, 7, 1862.

the frigate *Merrimac*, which had been sunk. The Confederate engineers raised her, lowered the deck, built a sloping roof of iron, attached a strong iron beak, and renamed her the *Virginia*. On March 8, 1862, she steamed out from Hampton Roads and rammed the *Cumberland* which sank. The *Congress* was run ashore, but was

The Monitor and the Merrimac



THE CIVIL WAR: DESTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE FLOTILLA OFF MEMPHIS

General Beauregard held Corinth for a month, but when the besiegers were about to attack, evacuated the town. This action compelled the evacuation of the forts on the Mississippi, and on June 6, Memphis was taken.

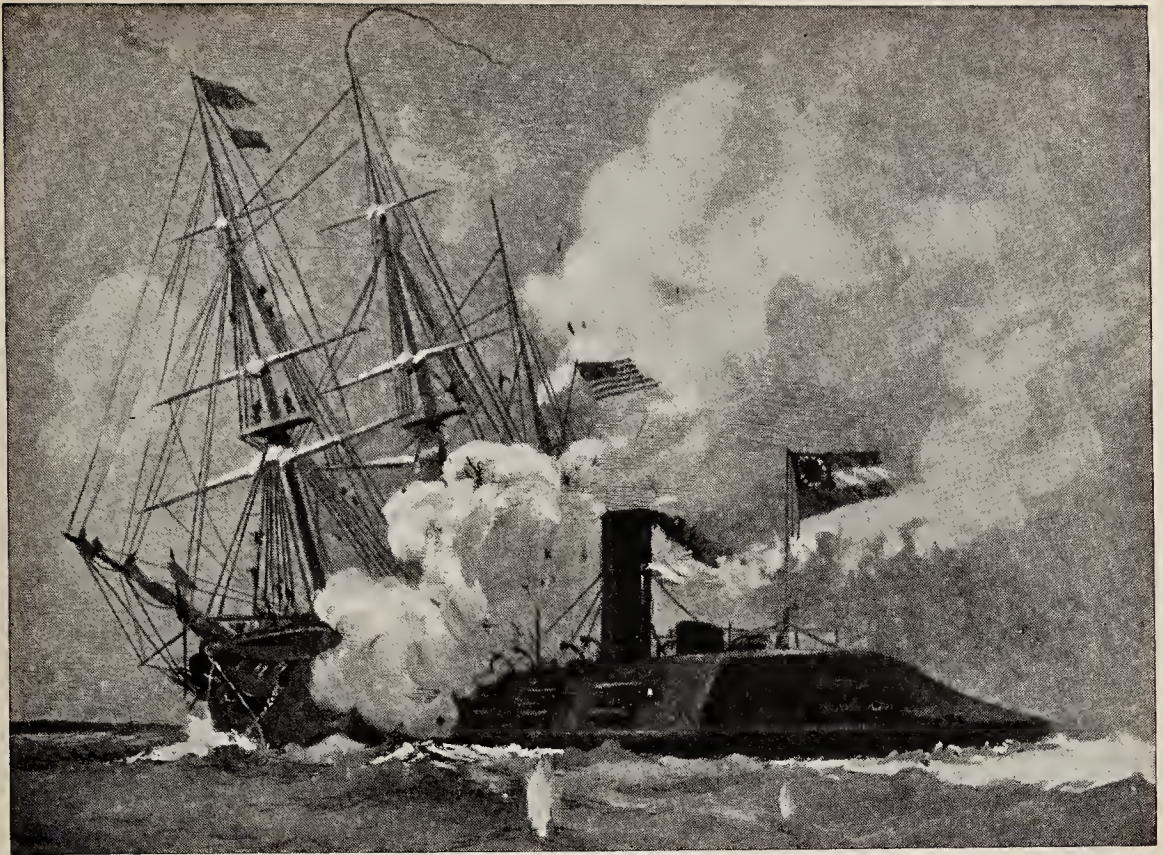
Farragut Takes New Orleans

The river was now open down to Vicksburg. Already Commodore Farragut had contemptuously run past the forts below New Orleans, taken the city (April 25) and compelled the forts to surrender. The city was placed in charge of General B. F. Butler, who kept order to be sure, but bore himself offensively. The whole length of the river, except Vicksburg, was now in Federal hands and Texas, Arkansas and a part of Louisiana were cut off from the Eastern states. The Western fleet and armies had done their work well.

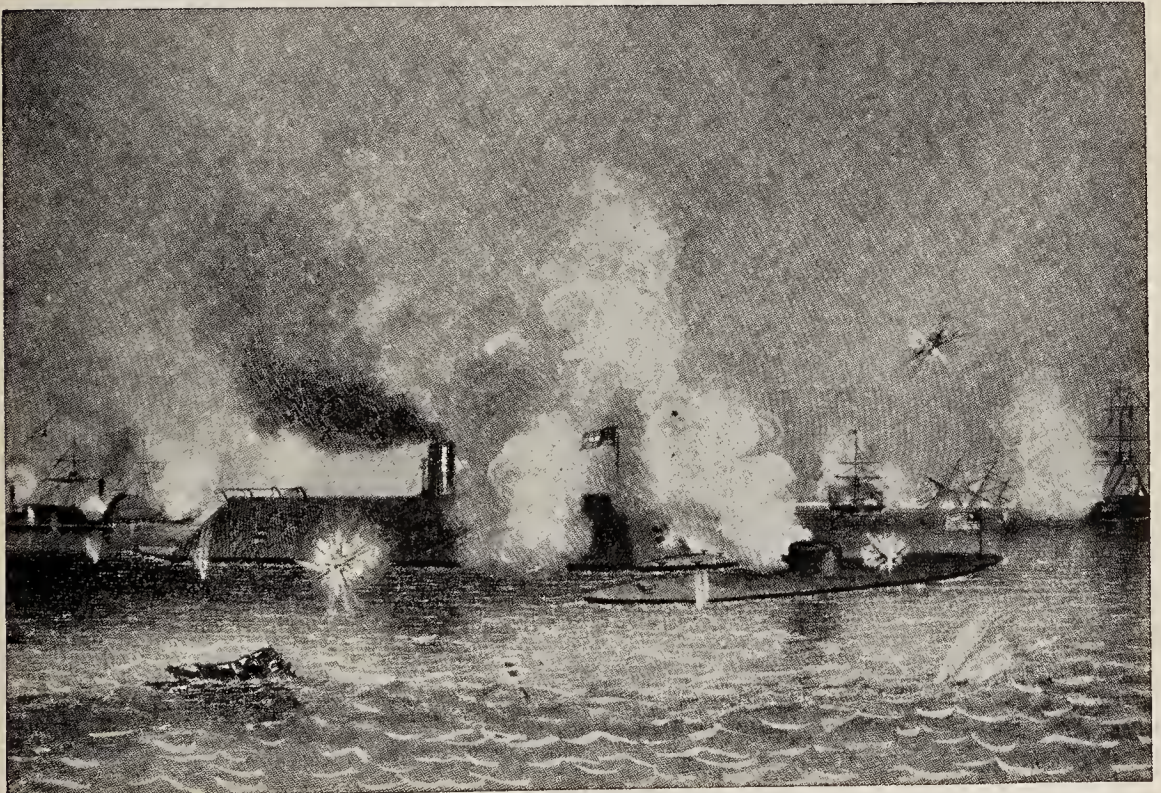
Among the spoils when Virginia seized the Navy Yard at Norfolk was

forced to surrender. The shot from the heavy guns of the Federal fleet glanced harmlessly from the roof of the clumsy craft. The next morning when she appeared, intending to destroy the remaining vessels of the fleet, she was met by a "cheesebox on a raft." This strange boat called the *Monitor* was the invention of Captain John Ericsson, and had been built especially to meet the *Virginia*. For four hours they fought, and at last the *Merrimac* or *Virginia* retired somewhat damaged. This was the first battle of iron ships in the world, and entirely revolutionised naval warfare.

During the winter of 1861-62 McClellan had been slowly transforming his untrained volunteers into an army. He possessed real genius as an organiser, and worked wonders in developing the "Army of the Potomac." When he took the field in the spring of 1862 he chose to advance on Richmond by way of



THE CONFEDERATE MERRIMAC RUNNING INTO THE FEDERAL CUMBERLAND



THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR IN AN ENGAGEMENT IN HAMPTON ROADS

SCENES IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

The second year of the war was marked by a number of successes for the Union navy. One defeat, however, was the sinking of the Cumberland on March 8th, 1862, by the Confederate Merrimac. The Merrimac, originally a vessel of the United States Navy, had been rendered almost invulnerable by the addition of a sloping iron roof. After destroying the Cumberland and the Congress, the Merrimac, or Virginia, was met by the Monitor. The latter was built by a Swede named Ericsson, and with its low armoured deck carried two guns of the heaviest calibre.

the peninsula between the York and the James Rivers. At Yorktown he was halted by a line of intrenchments held by General J. B. Magruder. Regular siege operations were begun, though the works might easily have been forced. When McClellan was ready to open fire, Magruder withdrew (May 3) after having delayed the advancing army for a month. General Longstreet guarded the rear, and a sharp action took place (May 5) at Williamsburg, the old capital of Virginia. Longstreet, however, saved the baggage train, withdrew and was pursued almost to Richmond.

The city was in a panic. The Confederate Congress hastily adjourned. General Joseph E. Johnston had hurried from northern Virginia to Richmond, but his army was inferior in numbers to McClellan's and it seemed that the city was lost. McClellan, however, always overestimated the forces of his opponents and never had men enough. He was expecting to be joined by McDowell with 40,000 men when another face was put upon the situation. While awaiting McDowell, McClellan had crossed a part of his force over the Chickahominy River. On this part Johnston fell, May 31, and the indecisive battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines was fought. General Johnston was severely wounded.

Several small Federal armies were operating in western Virginia. General T. J. Jackson, who had won the name "Stonewall" by his firmness at Bull Run, by sudden marches and attacks, cleared the Valley of the Shenandoah of Federal troops, and seemed to threaten Washington. President Lincoln ordered McDowell to assist Banks and Fremont in "trapping" Jackson. By a series of brilliant moves, though greatly outnumbered, Jackson kept the three armies employed, until ready himself to march to the defense of Richmond.

General Robert E. Lee, who was now placed in command of the Confederate forces, retained the chief command until the end of the war. Reinforced by Jackson, he now fell upon McClellan, who was much disturbed by the failure to receive the promised reinforce-

ments, and had determined to transfer his base of supplies to the James River. The series of engagements known as the Seven Days' Battles followed. McClellan made a masterly retreat, but even after it had begun, he could have thrown his army into Richmond, which had been left almost undefended. On July 1, at Malvern Hill, with the protection of the gunboats, a stand was made and Lee was checked. The campaign had failed, Richmond had been saved, and an immense quantity of stores had been destroyed or captured by the Confederates.

General Henry W. Halleck, the chief commander in the West, had succeeded, or at least forces in his department had won battles, while the Eastern commanders had failed. President Lincoln, therefore, summoned him to Washington and appointed him general-in-chief. McClellan was now ordered to evacuate the peninsula, and to send the bulk of his forces to General John Pope, for whom a new army had been created. This officer had had some success in the Western operations and came boasting of his intentions to crush the enemy. Lee sent Jackson to confront Pope, and when he found that McClellan was actually transferring his forces, hurried to join his lieutenant. On August 29-30 was fought the battle of Second Bull Run, or Manassas. Pope was overwhelmingly defeated with the loss of valuable stores, and hurried back toward Washington.

General Lee determined to cross the Potomac into Maryland, hoping to arouse secession sentiment, secure the state for the Confederacy, and threaten Washington from behind. General McClellan, who had, almost by common consent, been again placed in charge of the disorganised Federal armies, moved to meet him. Lee in the face of his opponents divided his army and sent Stonewall Jackson to take Harper's Ferry, garrisoned by 11,000 men. The place was untenable, and the task was soon performed. Valuable stores were taken besides prisoners. By a mysterious chance, which has never been explained, a paper containing Lee's plan of campaign was found by the roadside, wrapped around some cigars. This was

Richmond
in a
Panic

Second
Manassas or
Bull Run

The Seven
Days'
Battles



THE RUINS OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY

This is the scene of the John Brown raid. During the war the position was held at different times both by Federal and Confederate armies. It could not be easily defended and hence was finally destroyed.



THE SHARPSBURG BRIDGE OVER ANTIETAM CREEK

Some of the hardest fighting of the battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg occurred on the hilltop. There were four bridges across the creek near the village, and naturally their possession was sought.

brought to General McClellan's attention, but the Federal army moved too slowly to strike the divided Confederate armies, and Jackson rejoined Lee.

On September 16-17 one of the most hardly contested battles of the war occurred at Antietam Creek, near the little town of Sharpsburg. The fighting on the second day was desperate, but without decisive advantage. Lee's advance was checked, however, and his forces were so weakened that it seemed necessary to withdraw. The retreat was unopposed and the Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac without loss. So much criticism was directed at McClellan's caution and slowness that he was again relieved of the command, which was given to General A. E. Burnside, who had distinguished himself at Antietam.

This officer knew that he was expected to fight, and his recklessness was in strong contrast to the caution of McClellan. Discarding the

Burnside's plan of attack worked out
Defeat at by McClellan, he moved
Fredericksburg toward Fredericksburg.

Lee by forced marches placed his army on the heights behind the town on the south bank of the river. Finally Burnside crossed, and December 13, 1862, assailed the Confederate positions. Desperate assaults were made, especially on Marye's Heights. Here the Confederate forces were protected by a low stone wall, from the cover of which they poured a withering fire upon the advancing columns. The slaughter was terrible, and the Federal forces fell back in confusion to the river. Lee expected the fighting to be renewed upon the following day, as the Federal army was greatly superior in numbers. Under cover of the night, however, the army recrossed and retreated toward Washington.

Early in the war measures to destroy slavery had been urged, but Lincoln felt that the country was not ready. Just

Emancipation after Bull Run, Congress
is passed a resolution that the
Urged war was solely to preserve
the Union and not to interfere with slavery. A few days later an act was passed confiscating slaves who

had worked upon fortifications. General Frémont, commanding in St. Louis, on his own responsibility, issued a proclamation late in August, confiscating all property, including slaves, of those who had taken part against the Union. This Lincoln countermanded. In the spring of 1862 he suggested emancipation with compensation in the four loyal slave states, and in the District of Columbia. An act to this effect, applying only to the District, was passed in April. A second Confiscation Act forbade the surrender of fugitive slaves belonging to those who were resisting the Union, and declared them free. Next, General David Hunter, who commanded in the recovered district around Beaufort, South Carolina, on his own responsibility declared all slaves free in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. This order was likewise countermanded.

The next step was the prohibition by Congress, June 19, 1862, of slavery in any of the territories of the United States. Lincoln, however,

The had come to the determi-
Emancipation nation to declare emanci-
Proclamation pation as a military measure, but with Union reverses so pronounced, the time seemed unfavourable.

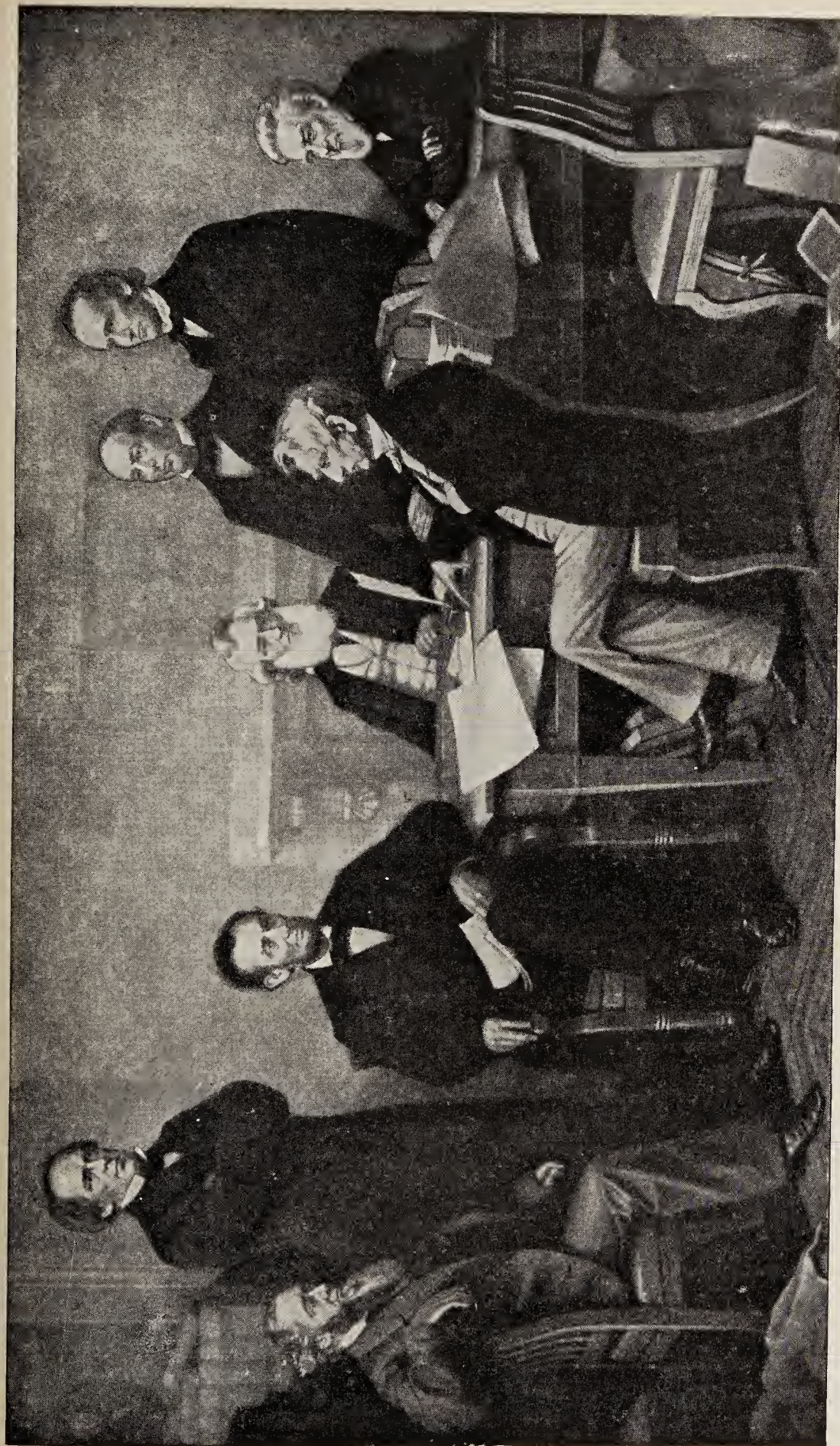
Grasping at McClellan's partial success at Antietam, a preliminary proclamation was issued, September 23, 1862, declaring all slaves in states resisting the Union to be free, January 1, 1863. On that date the final proclamation declared slavery to be abolished in all the seceding states except Tennessee, then almost completely held by Federal forces, and the parts of Louisiana and Virginia held by the Federal armies.

The next step was a suggestion, in the President's message in 1863, of compensated emancipation in the border states. Congress was not

The enthusiastic, and the matter
Thirteenth was dropped. A constitu-
Amendment tional amendment abolishing

slavery altogether failed to pass the House of Representatives in 1864, but early the next year it was passed. On ratification by three-fourths of the states it became a part of the Constitution, December, 1865, after the war was over. This is the Thirteenth Amendment.

One more movement in the West be-



PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET CONSIDERING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

This famous engraving shows the cabinet of President Lincoln at the time the proclamation emancipating the slaves was determined upon. The standing figure at the President's right is Secretary Chase of the Treasury. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, is seated at the extreme left of the picture; Secretary Seward sits in the foreground, while across the table is Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy. The other members of the cabinet are less important. The preliminary proclamation of emancipation was issued, September 23, 1862, declaring that slaves would be set free January 1, 1863, unless the states returned to their allegiance. No state returned, and the formal proclamation was issued as announced. President Lincoln claimed the right to issue the proclamation as a war measure.

longed to the campaign of 1862. After Shiloh and Corinth, General Braxton Bragg succeeded General Beauregard, and determined to attempt the recapture of Kentucky. General Don Carlos Buell reached Louisville first, and an indecisive battle was fought at Perryville. Bragg then transferred his men to Chattanooga, Tennessee. On the last day of the year, the armies met at Murfreesborough, on the Stone River, in one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Fighting continued for three days, when Bragg retired from the field, leaving his opponents too much crippled to follow.

President Davis had issued commissions for privateers, but there were not in the Confederacy, vessels sufficiently strong and swift to be effective. This lack was met to some extent by vessels built in England and allowed to depart through the real or apparent negligence of officials. The first was the *Florida*, followed soon by the *Alabama*. These with a few other vessels confined themselves to the destruction of merchantmen. The United States navy meanwhile was strengthening the blockade of Southern ports and had captured nearly all of them.

Meanwhile the elections of 1862 in the North seemed to show that the people were not satisfied with the administration. The Republicans (who had been in a majority after the departure of the representatives from the seceding states) lost many seats in the Congressional contests. This was partly due to the assumption by the President of the right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. Men were arrested without warrant, and held without trial in forts or other prisons. In many cases their families and friends did not know their whereabouts. The announcement of emancipation was not yet popular in the Northwest. Recruiting was slow, expenses were heavy, and it seemed to be the general opinion that the war was a failure.

During 1862 the Confederates strengthened the fortifications of Vicksburg, the only strong position still held on the Mississippi, though Port Hudson was afterward fortified. Grant at-

tempted to take Vicksburg from the east and failed. General William T. Sherman, who was becoming known as an eccentric but able officer, attempted the task by landing higher up the river. This attempt likewise failed.

Though his attempt had failed, General Grant, now in charge of all the troops on the Mississippi, determined to have Vicksburg, which was important, because through it communication was had between the eastern part of the Confederacy and the states west of the Mississippi; and it also made ordinary navigation of the river impossible. A part of the forces protecting Vicksburg were under Joseph E. Johnston, now recovered from his wound, and that part which directly held the city was under General John C. Pemberton, a northern born officer who had joined the Confederacy.

Grant was able to separate the two armies and, after futile attempts to take the city by assault, settled down to siege operations. Finally when the garrison and the inhabitants had been brought close to starvation, Pemberton surrendered with over 29,000 men, on July 4, 1863. This was the largest number of prisoners ever taken in America, and Grant was recognised as the most promising general the Federal army had produced. Soon a few other points on the river held by the Confederates were taken, and the Mississippi was held from source to mouth.

During the opening months of 1863 the Federal and Confederate armies in Tennessee confronted each other, and manoeuvred for position. Finally they met at Chickamauga, September 19-20, and the Federal forces were driven from the field. The chief glory was won by General G. H. Thomas, a Southern officer who, like Admiral Farragut, adhered to the Union. From his firm stand he became known as the "Rock of Chickamauga."

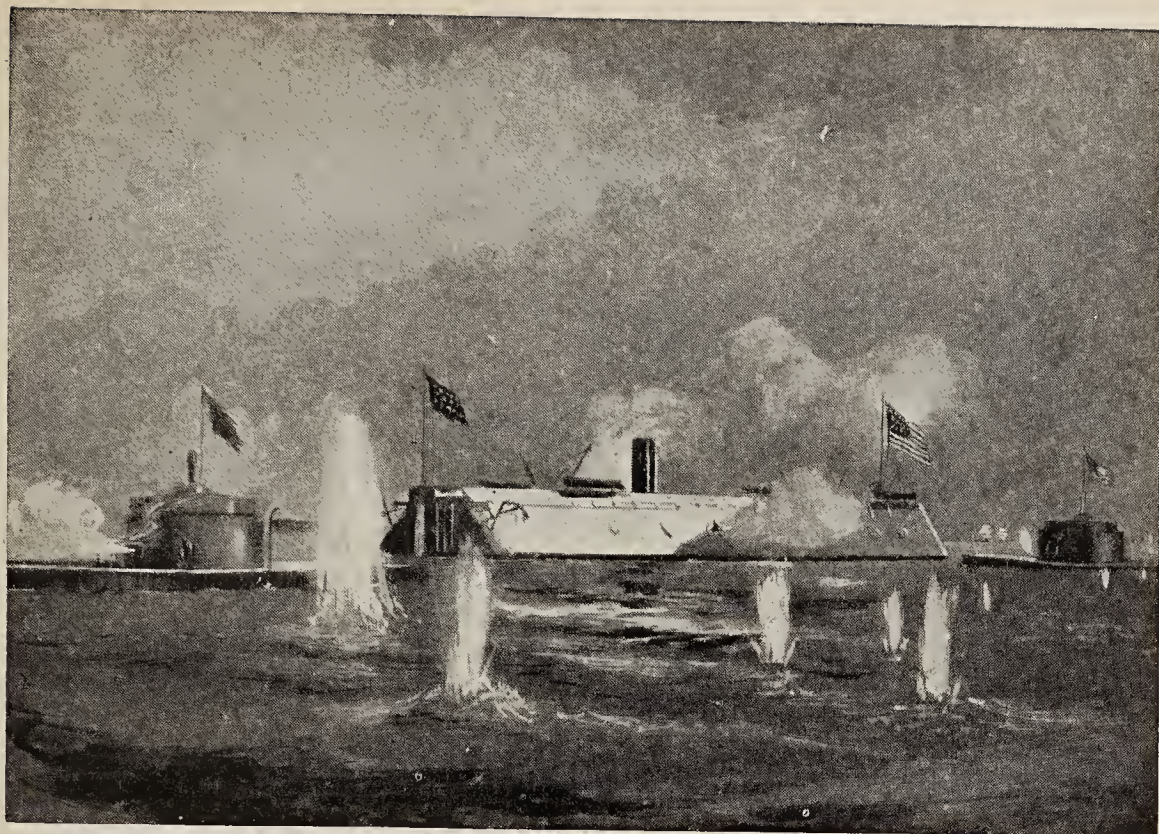
General Rosecrans, the Federal commander, now held Chattanooga, while the Confederate forces occupied the low hills around the city. General Grant, who was now in the chief command west of the Alleghenies, arrived to take

Bragg and Buell

Attempts to Take Vicksburg

Arbitrary Arrests in the North

The "Rock of Chickamauga"



AN IRONCLAD FRIGATE AND TWO ERICSSON MONITORS GOING INTO ACTION



GUN AND MORTAR BOATS ON THE MISSISSIPPI ENGAGING THE FORTS AND BATTERIES

NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

The siege of Vicksburg was one of the most memorable in the history of the Civil War. Realising the importance of closing up the Mississippi River, the Confederates in 1862 strongly fortified the place, and from this time on succeeded in repulsing attack upon attack, only surrendering on July 4th after a hard siege by land and water, which began on May 18th, 1863. The lower picture shows a number of gun and mortar boats on the Mississippi River attacking the forts and batteries on the peninsula formed by the river and the mainland, while the first depicts two of the Ericsson monitors going into action.

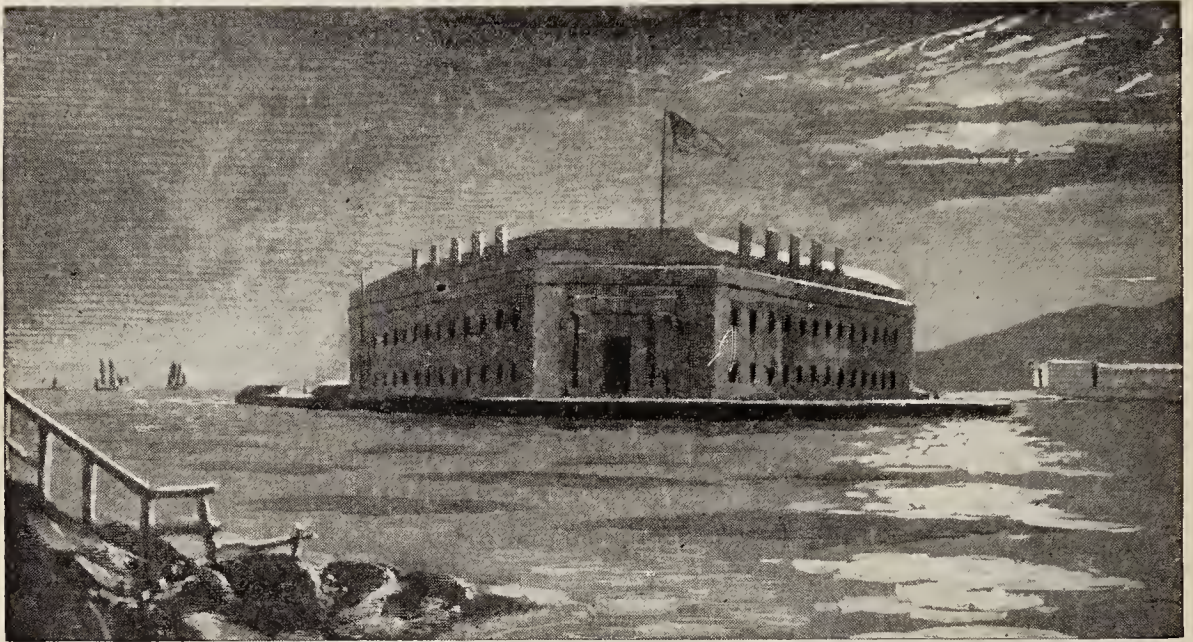
HISTORY OF THE WORLD

charge in person. On November 24-25 the Federal troops charged up Lookout Mountain, fought the "battle above the clouds," and also drove the Confederates from Missionary Ridge. Bragg was forced to retire into northern Georgia into winter quarters. The Confederate forces had now lost Tennessee.

Meanwhile even more important

war. Born in Virginia, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, he had been graduated at West Point and had taken part in the Mexican War. He afterward resigned, and when war again came was professor in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, where his numerous eccentricities were the occasion of much

The Second
Invasion of
the North



FORT LAFAYETTE, THE FEDERAL BASTILLE FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

During the early part of the Civil War grim Fort Lafayette, situated on Hendrick's Reef in the Narrows at the entrance to New York Harbour, was used for the detention of civilians suspected of disloyalty.

events had taken place in the eastern theatre of the war. General Hooker had been an unwilling subordinate to General Burnside, and after the terrible failure of that officer at Fredericksburg, had been placed in command of the army of the Potomac. In April, 1863, the army advanced toward Richmond. It was met at Chancellorsville, south of Fredericksburg, May 3, by Lee and Jackson. Lee again divided his army in the face of his opponents and sent Jackson to strike Hooker on the flank. The plan was successful, and the Federal forces were driven in confusion, north of the Rapahannock River. The Confederacy suffered a greater loss than a battle, or even an army, in the death of Stonewall Jackson, who was accidentally shot by his own men while observing conditions during the night after the battle.

This officer is perhaps the most interesting character made prominent by the

comment. His firmness at Bull Run, and his brilliant operations in western Virginia made a reputation which continued to increase. At his death General Lee said that he had lost his "right arm." Jackson was a belated Puritan survival, of the type of Oliver Cromwell. Taciturn, without social graces, and deeply religious, he was able to secure a devotion and confidence from his men which made them almost invincible.

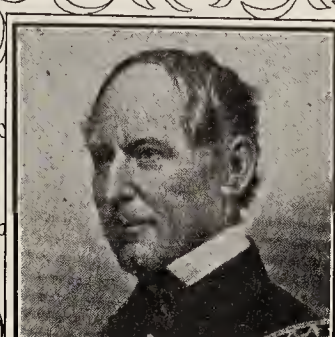
Influenced by his success at Chancellorsville, General Lee determined to risk another invasion of the North. Crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, he advanced across the narrow strip of Maryland into Pennsylvania. President Lincoln had been searching for a man who could lead the Federal armies to success. McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker had been tried and failed. Now the command was entrusted to General George C. Meade. Unless Lee was decisively checked, he could take Washington, Philadelphia and



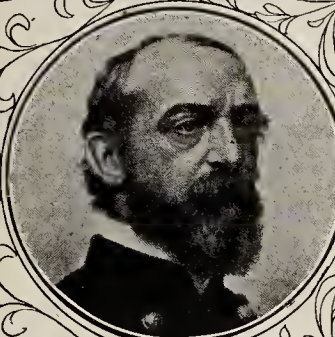
MC CLELLAN



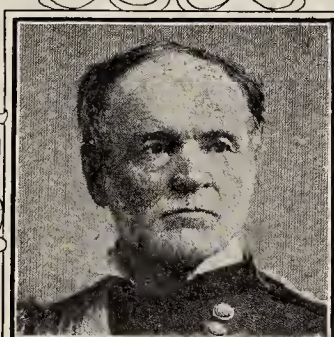
HOOKER



FARRAGUT



MEADE



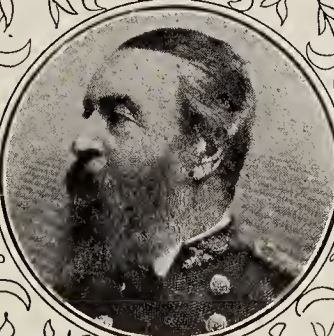
SHERMAN



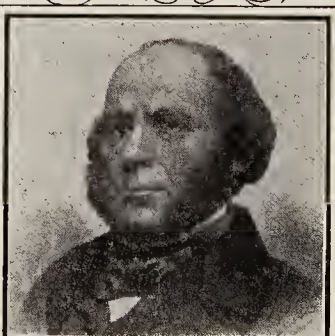
THOMAS



SHERIDAN



PORTER



ERICSSON

UNION LEADERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Here are nine leaders of the Union armies. Though McClellan did not win victories he organised the army which finally won. Hooker was a good officer, but no match for Lee. Farragut took New Orleans and Mobile, while Porter helped to take Vicksburg and Fort Fisher. Meade won the decisive battle of Gettysburg, Sherman marched through the Confederacy and Thomas saved the day at Chickamauga. Sheridan was Grant's right hand in Virginia, and Ericsson constructed the Monitor.

Baltimore, and threaten New York.

Neither army had expected to fight at Gettysburg, but an affair of outposts drew on a general conflict, and here July

The Battle of Gettysburg

1, 2, 3, 1863, was fought perhaps the most important battle of the war. On the first and second day the Confederates had the advantage, and a Federal council seriously considered retreat. It was determined to stand, however, and on the third day conditions were reversed. Lee risked all on a direct attack on the Union centre. Pickett, Pettigrew, Trimble led the best of the Southern infantry in a vain effort to pierce the Federal lines. Torn by artillery they advanced across the field and up the hill, and even reached the Federal line, but the force of the wave had spent itself and the column was forced to fall back, after one of the bravest charges in history. Lee, though he might have found fault with some of his subordinates who had failed to carry out his orders promptly and exactly, took all blame himself. He remained on the battlefield, waiting to be attacked, but Meade was cautious, and Lee withdrew across the Potomac almost undisturbed.

Few battles in history have engaged more attention from students of military science than this, partly because of the interest in the battle itself, and partly from its effects. It marked in one way the high water mark of the Confederacy. Though not fully realised at the time, it is apparent now that after Gettysburg the fortunes of the Confederacy declined. Therefore Gettysburg may be called the greatest battle of the war.

A very large percentage of the military strength of the South pressed forward at the beginning of the war, but it was soon seen that dependence could not be placed upon volunteer enlistments. In April, 1862, an act was passed making all men eighteen to thirty-three liable to military duty. Before the end of the

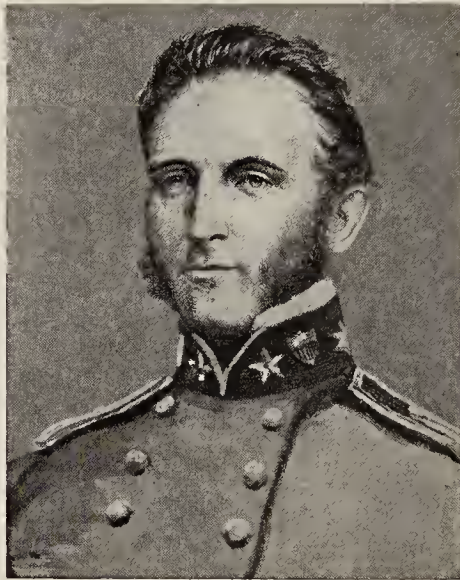
year the limit was raised to forty-five, and later boys younger than eighteen and men older than forty-five were organised for home defense.

The North was forced to a sort of conscription. A certain quota of recruits was demanded from a district. If a sufficient number did not volunteer, the deficiency was made up by a draft. Men of military age drew lots, and if "drafted" must either go to war, furnish a substitute, or pay \$300. A little later the way of escape by money payment was cut off. The Act was very un-

The Draft Riots in New York

popular, and in New York, July 13, 1863, mobs broke up the draft offices, looted and burned houses, and hanged negroes wherever found. For several days the city was in control of the lawless, and was only slowly brought back into good order.

To prevent the disgrace of the draft, various methods were used to stimulate volunteering. The most common was the offer of bounties by Federal, State, and sometimes county, city or town authorities. It is estimated that dur-

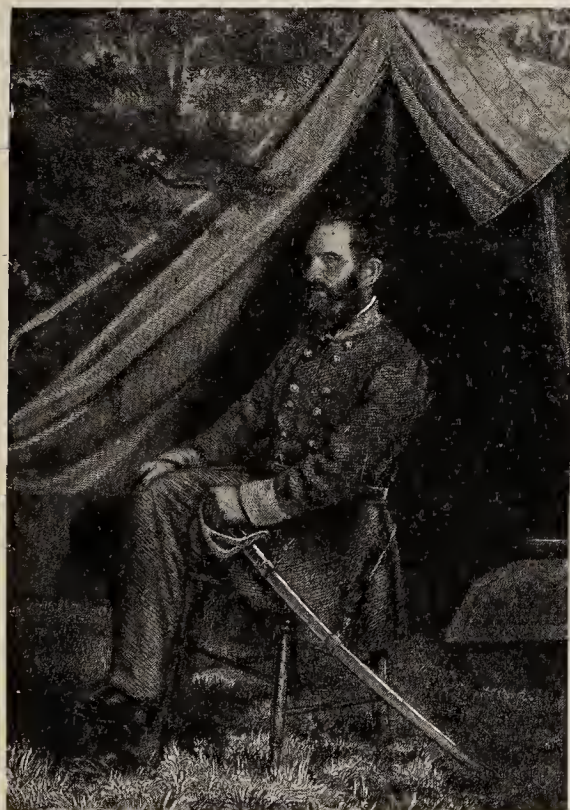
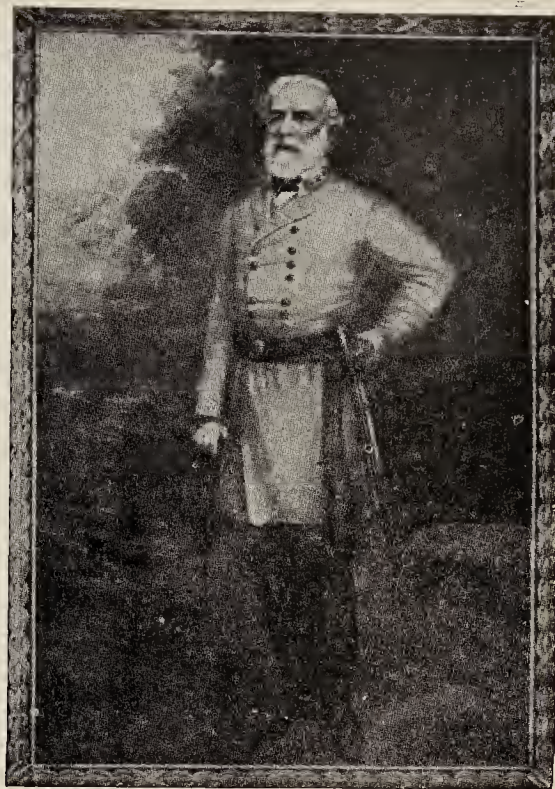
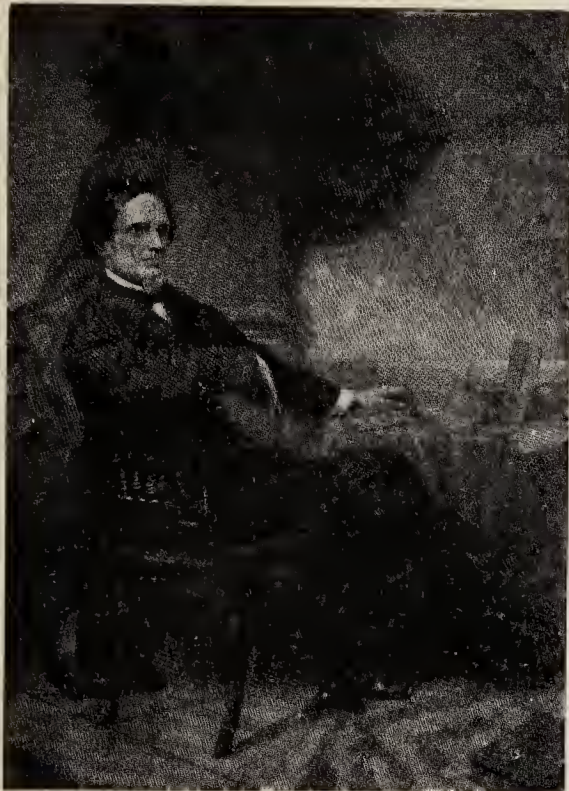


"STONEWALL" JACKSON
During the Mexican War.

ing the last year or more of the war every Federal volunteer cost at least \$1,000.

The practice known as "bounty-jumping" became common. A man would enlist in one section, collect the bounties offered, and within a few days or weeks, desert and enlist elsewhere under another name, collecting bounties again. One man was discovered to have enlisted and "jumped" thirty-two times. Naturally soldiers enlisted by such methods were not always of the best quality, and military critics agree that the recruits of the last year of the war were inferior to those who volunteered during the first two years. Grant was forced to delay operations before Petersburg to drill these accessions to his force.

The first negro troops enlisted seem to have been mustered into the Confederate



FOUR CONFEDERATE LEADERS

These four men, all graduates of West Point, had most to do with the Confederate armies. Jefferson Davis had been Secretary of War in President Pierce's Cabinet and was for four years President of the Confederacy. Robert E. Lee, before Virginia seceded, was offered the command of the United States army, but refused, and for four years fought for the independence of the Confederacy. Thomas Jonathan Jackson, better known as Stonewall Jackson, was Lee's most trusted lieutenant, and perhaps the greatest military genius of the war. He was accidentally shot by his own men at Chancellorsville. Joseph E. Johnston was thought too cautious by some, but he was a skilful soldier and his soldiers trusted him. Commanders of the Confederate armies were changed less often than in the North.



service at New Orleans, but the number was small. In the last days of the Confederacy the matter was seriously considered. Finally the Confederate Congress authorised the measure, but it was in 1865, too late to be of use. After the Emancipation Proclamation, negroes were enlisted in large numbers in the Federal armies. At the end of the war the total was 183,000.

There was much chagrin at the easy escape of the Army of Northern Virginia from Gettysburg. The civilian enthusiasts at Washington felt that it should have been captured or else demolished. Vexation at General Meade's failure to do what was perhaps impossible almost caused his positive success to be forgotten. He had forced General Lee to abandon his plan of invading the North, and had inflicted upon him losses which he could ill afford. It seemed that a strange fatality had pursued the commanding generals in the East. McDowell, McClellan, Pope, McClellan again, Burnside, Hooker, had apparently been proved unequal to the task. Now

Meade had failed to come up to expectations.

Just at the time of Gettysburg came the news of the capture of Vicksburg with thousands of prisoners. These Western generals seemed to succeed. Therefore General Grant, in 1864, was commissioned lieutenant general of the armies of the United States, and placed in charge of all military operations. Leaving General Sherman in command in the West, he came to the East and took charge of the Army of the Potomac, though Meade remained the titular commander.

In May, 1864, the usual advance on Richmond was begun. The armies met in the "Wilderness," a region of small trees and thick undergrowth with few cleared fields, which lay to the south and west of Fredericksburg. Grant

hardly expected that Lee would fight, but on May 5, 6, in the dense woody growth a bloody battle was fought, in which Grant, though greatly superior in numbers, could not advance. He then attempted to turn Lee's right flank, but

THE WAR TO PRESERVE THE UNION

Lee anticipated him by the transfer of troops, and when the advance of the Army of the Potomac reached Spottsylvania Court House Longstreet was there. Between May 8 and May 20 a series of bloody contests took place, but the hastily constructed Confederate trenches could not be forced. Grant had lost in these two weeks 36,000 men, without inflicting corresponding injury upon his opponents.

Again Grant attempted to move by the left flank, but when his army arrived on the north bank of the North Anna River (May 23) again the Army of Northern Virginia was on the south bank in position to meet attack. The position was well chosen, and Grant did not order a grand assault, but again moved by the left flank, and on May 28 the armies occupied the same ground they had fought over two years before at the battle of Gaines' Mill, but the positions were reversed. All these flanking movements had brought Grant almost in sight of Richmond, and he determined again to break Lee's line by sheer weight of numbers. At Cold Harbour, six miles from Richmond, on June 3, a desperate assault along the whole line was made. The main fighting was over in less than an hour, with a loss of over 6,000 to the Federal forces. Skirmishing continued for several days longer, as Grant determined to change his tactics. During five weeks he had

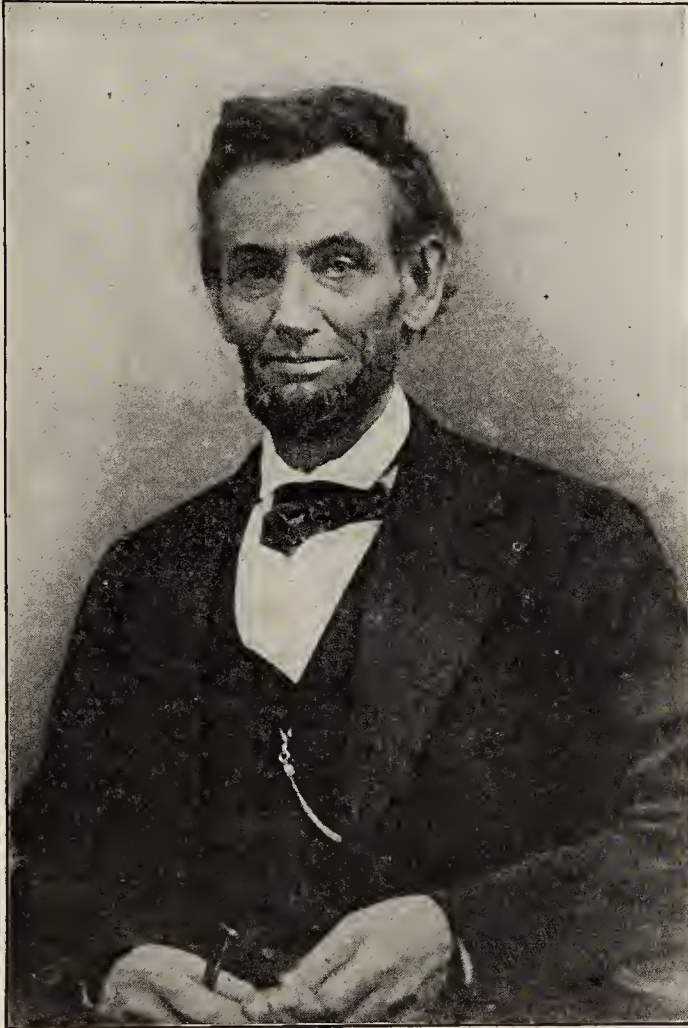
lost about 55,000 men, almost as many as were in Lee's army, and had inflicted a loss of about 19,000.

The skirmishing along the lines was designed to conceal his next move; which was to swing his entire army across the James River and move on

Richmond from the south. Petersburg was almost taken as it was only defended by militia, but reinforcements soon arrived, and the assaults were repulsed with heavy loss. A mine was dug under part of the defenses but was badly managed, and did more damage to the Federal forces than to the Confederate. During the remainder of the year there were isolated actions of little importance, but General Grant's main energy was devoted to drilling the great number of new troops sent forward.

During this campaign the

Presidential elections of 1864 approached. The Radical element in the Republican party opposed Lincoln, whom they claimed to be lacking in dignity, and in force, and nominated Frémont. The Moderates called a convention, styling themselves the National Union party, and nominated Lincoln. For Vice-President Andrew Johnson, a Union Democrat from Tennessee, was chosen. The Democrats nominated General McClellan, popular still with the army and the people, who felt that he



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a Photograph made Just Before his Assassination.
Copyright Brown Bros.

The Second
Election
of Lincoln

had been badly treated by the military authorities. The platform called for a convention to restore peace "on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." Practically, the attempt to subdue the South was declared to be impossible. For a time it seemed that McClellan's election was probable. The news of the capture of Atlanta and Mobile was cheering, and Lincoln was re-elected, receiving 212 electoral votes to 21 cast for McClellan.

Several auxiliary eastern armies had little success during the year. General Butler, who had moved from Fortress Monroe by way of the James, to assist in the attack on Richmond, was "bottled up" at Bermuda Hundred, where he could render no assistance. In the Shenandoah Valley the Federal commanders

Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley

were in general unsuccessful, and General Jubal A. Early was able to approach within sight of Washington.

In September, General P. H. Sheridan, with an overwhelming force, was sent against Early, and after defeating him in several engagements devastated the Valley, so that "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his rations." Early surprised Sheridan's army at Cedar Creek, October 19, in the absence of the commander, and won at first a decided advantage, but on the arrival of Sheridan was driven from the field. Though a brave and skilful soldier, it was Early's fortune to fight larger forces, also skilfully led.

In the West, the problem before General Sherman was somewhat similar to that before Grant in the East. When the campaign opened Sherman

Sherman and Johnston in the West

was at Chattanooga, while General Joseph E. Johnston with an inferior force was at Dalton, Georgia. Early in May, Sherman appeared before Dalton, but finding Johnston strongly entrenched, did not assault, but flanked the position. Johnston fell back, was again flanked, and again fell back. Each commander was attempting to find an opportunity to fight the other at a disadvantage, and each was too wary to allow himself to be caught. As Johnston fell back he destroyed the railroad, by which Sherman must bring up his supplies, and Sherman, in whose army were many skilful engineers and mechan-

ics, repaired it almost as rapidly as it was destroyed. Bridge timbers, already cut and fitted, were a part of the equipment of the army. All this time, skirmishing had been taking place, but no general engagement.

The first real battle was at Kenesaw, twenty-five miles from Atlanta. Here Sherman was unable to break Johnston's line and suffered large loss.

Hood Succeeds Johnston

Another flank movement, and on July 9 Sherman was within six miles of Atlanta, but Johnston was still before him, strongly entrenched.

Johnston had been following the same plan as Lee, that is, keeping his men behind entrenchments, and falling back when necessary to meet a flanking movement. There had been less fighting than in Virginia, because Sherman was more cautious than Grant. Johnston did not possess the confidence of his superiors or of the public to the same extent as Lee, and a storm of criticism of his Fabian tactics arose. He had allowed a hostile force to penetrate deep into the Confederacy. Johnston was therefore relieved, July 17, and General John B. Hood, a "fighting general," was placed in command.

General Hood knew that he was expected to fight, and within less than two weeks had fought three battles, losing nearly 10,000 men. Sherman

Hood Fights and Loses

lost somewhat more, but his force was considerably larger, by this time nearly twice as

great. Hood refused to be besieged in Atlanta, and the city was occupied by Sherman, September 3, 1864. Hood had moved to the northwest to threaten the Federal communications, thinking to draw Sherman after him. Instead of following him, Sherman sent Thomas to oppose Hood. With reinforcements from Tennessee Thomas had as many men as Hood, while Sherman with 60,000 men held Atlanta. Nothing could show more clearly the waning power of the Confederacy. At this stage of the campaign, two Federal armies, as large or larger than the whole Confederate force, were operating in the same general section. This takes no account of Grant's superior numbers in Virginia.

Hood moved on Nashville, but received a severe check at Franklin, Tennessee,

THE WAR TO PRESERVE THE UNION

November 30, after which he advanced and took position near Nashville. Thomas waited until he was entirely ready, though his deliberation caused much dismay in Washington, and an order relieving him from the command was actually prepared. Finally on December 15, 16, Thomas moved on Hood and crushed him in the battle of Nashville. His army was broken and scattered; and afterward there was no real Confederate army in this section.

Meanwhile Sherman had conceived the plan of breaking loose from his communications and striking for the seacoast.

Grant reluctantly consented, and on November 15, Sherman burned a considerable part of Atlanta, cut the telegraph wires, and began the famous "March to the Sea." His army marched on parallel roads, cutting a swath sixty miles through the heart of Georgia. Foraging parties took what they could use, and destroyed the remainder of the provisions in the section. There was abundant food in Georgia, even though the soldiers in Lee's army were suffering. Railroads were few, and both rails and equipment had been much worn by the excessive strain. Sherman not only destroyed the food, but the railroads in his path. He himself estimated the damage done to the state at \$100,000,000, of which \$80,000,000 was pure waste and destruction. Much misery was caused to non-combatants by this policy, without corresponding benefit to the army. After he passed there was no material with which the South might repair the roads, and so the food supplies of the lower South could not be transported to Virginia.

Without serious opposition, Sherman reached Savannah, December 10, after a march of three hundred and sixty miles.

Pillaging and Looting on the Way There were only 15,000 men for the defense of that city. It was, therefore, evacuated December 20, and Sherman took possession. His next move was northward, toward Columbia, South Carolina. Pillaging and looting were even more common than in Georgia. Sherman himself said: "The whole army is burning with an insatiable desire to wreak

vengeance upon South Carolina. I almost tremble for her fate, but feel that she deserves all that seems to be in store for her." Little effort seems to have been made to restrain the men. It is proper to say, however, that the worst offenses seem to have been committed by the camp-followers, usually called "bummers." When Columbia was reached, the town was burned, apparently not by direct orders, but by drunken soldiers who were not restrained. The departing Confederates had set on fire some cotton bales, and it has been claimed that the destruction of the city was caused thereby, but the evidence of wanton firing of houses by Federal soldiers seems conclusive. As the result of the course and conduct of the army under General Sherman, the Southern people have felt toward him an animosity not felt toward any other Federal officer.

After leaving South Carolina, the arsenal at Fayetteville, North Carolina, was destroyed. A few Confederate troops from Charleston and other parts were collected and by direct order of General Lee, who had recently been made General-in-Chief, Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to the command. Two desperate efforts to check the advance were made, especially at Bentonville, March 19, 20, but his men were too few. Sherman occupied Goldsboro, and afterward moved on to Raleigh, the capital of the state, almost without opposition, though Johnston kept his fragment of an army together and hoped for a favourable opportunity to strike. Meanwhile cavalry raiders cut the railroad communication all through the South, to prevent food and other supplies from reaching Lee's army.

During these campaigns east of the Mississippi, which have been mentioned, there was considerable fighting, though by comparatively small forces, in the western Confederacy. Texas saw little of war but in Arkansas and Missouri there was something approaching real civil war. Western Louisiana, including Shreveport, was held by the Confederates, in spite of efforts to dislodge them, until the end of the war.

The exploit of Admiral Farragut in taking New Orleans has already been

told, and also some account of the work of the vessels before Vicksburg. Other Southern ports were taken during the course of the war. Before the summer of 1862 was over, all the Atlantic ports except Charleston and Wilmington were taken. Wilmington was not taken until January, 1865, and Charleston until after evacuation on account of the approach of Sherman, February, 1865. Mobile Bay was seized in August, 1864, but the city could not be taken at that time.

The most important work of the navy, however, was the blockade of Southern ports before they were taken. The South was so lacking in manufacturing establishments that when the importations were cut off distress immediately ensued. It could neither get its cotton out, nor bring in supplies from abroad. If the ports could have been kept open so that the cotton crops — equivalent to money — could have been exported, and necessary supplies and munitions of war could have been brought in, the task of the Federal army would have been rendered more difficult, if not impossible. As the blockade grew tighter and tighter the power of resistance of the Confederacy was gradually reduced. As one writer has said, "the Confederacy was choked to death."

Though a blockade of all Confederate ports had been proclaimed early in the war, it was for a considerable time ineffective. Ships entered and left the ports with little difficulty during the first few months of the war. As the blockading squadrons increased, egress and ingress became less easy. Meanwhile the shortage of cotton in England raised the price in Liverpool, and the lack of a market lowered it in the South. Attempts to "run the blockade" from England were made, but the risk was large, since, according to international law, a ship sailing from a blockaded port might be captured anywhere. Therefore, special vessels were constructed to run from the Confederate ports to the West Indies, Nassau or the Bermudas, most often. There cotton was unloaded and carried in English vessels to Liverpool without being liable to capture. The blockade run-

ner, taking on a cargo of merchandise most in demand in the Confederacy, would attempt to slip back into a Southern port.

These blockade runners were generally long, low vessels with large engine power painted a dull grey, so that they were almost invisible at a short distance, even in daylight. The trip was timed to reach the desired port at high tide on a moonless night. Pilots who knew every inch of the inlets and harbours were on board, and it was for a time comparatively easy to slip in or out past the blockading squadron. If challenged, the blockade runner attempted to escape through speed, and often succeeded. Wilmington, North Carolina, was the principal port for blockade runners, and not until the capture of Fort Fisher, January 16, 1865, was the port effectively closed.

The profits in the trade were enormous. Cotton which could be purchased in the South for a few cents the pound would bring ten to twenty times as much in Liverpool, and the goods taken into the Confederate ports also yielded enormous profits. It was estimated that a vessel would easily pay for itself in two trips, and every successful trip afterward was clear profit. Some vessels were very successful in eluding capture. The most successful, the steamer *Siren*, made sixty-four runs; the steamer *R. E. Lee*, belonging to the Confederate States government, passed through twenty-one times. The steamer *Advance*, belonging to the State of North Carolina, made several successful trips, only to be captured because of inferior coal which made a visible smoke.

The Confederacy had no ocean-going warships, though many rams and ironclads were extemporised for harbour defense. Great injury was inflicted upon the commerce of the United States by a group of fast ships, about a dozen in all, usually built or purchased in England. The most noted of these, the *Alabama*, Captain Semmes, took or destroyed the largest number of ships, though the value of those taken by the *Shenandoah* was almost as great. This vessel was operating against the whaling fleet in Bering Sea at the end of the war, and took sev-

The
Work of
the Navy

Profits in
Running
Blockade

Running
the
Blockade

The
Commerce
Destroyers



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA

After the capture of Atlanta General Sherman determined to cut loose from his line of supplies, destroy the railroad and march to Savannah, where he could communicate with the Union fleet. The march began November 16 and Savannah was captured December 20, 1864. His march was accompanied by thousands of vagrants called "bummers," who robbed right and left. Many negroes gathered up their scanty goods and followed the army. Railroads were destroyed, mills and factories burned, and all food not used by the army was destroyed on a strip of land sixty miles wide through the heart of Georgia. There was no force to oppose him, and this showed that the Confederacy could not endure much longer. This picture was made from the engraving drawn by Darley and engraved by Ritchie.



THE RUINS OF THE ARSENAL AT RICHMOND AFTER THE EVACUATION

eral vessels after that event, before the news had penetrated that remote quarter of the world. The total direct loss inflicted was about \$18,000,000, but the indirect loss was much greater, as the United States merchant marine almost disappeared from the sea. The *Alabama* unwisely engaged the U. S. Ship *Kearsarge* off the harbour of Cherbourg, France, June 19, 1864, and was sunk.

At the beginning of 1865, most men recognised the fact that the Confederacy was doomed. Hood's army in the West had been shattered. Early had been defeated and driven out of the Valley, the army of Northern Virginia, around Petersburg, lacked food, clothing, equipment of all kinds. The paper money of the Confederacy was worthless, and the families of many of the soldiers were suffering for the bare necessities of life. Desertion, almost unknown in the earlier period of the war, was becoming common. Sherman, after his triumphal march through Georgia, was advancing through the Carolinas, and could not be halted by any force that could be brought against him.

Men cast about for expedients. The administration was criticised on every side. It was seriously suggested that General Lee be made dictator, and if he

would have accepted such a responsibility, there is little doubt but that it would have been placed upon him. He, however,

positively refused to consider the matter. A peace movement developed, and a conference was held between President Lincoln and Secretary Seward on the one hand, and three commissioners appointed by President Davis.

The meeting was held on a United States vessel in Hampton Roads, but it came to nothing. Next the Confederate Congress catching at straws took up the idea of freeing such slaves as would enlist in the Confederate Army, but it was too late to attempt to carry out the plan.

Early in 1865, Grant began to extend his left to reach one of the two railroads by which supplies reached Richmond. Lee's army was now so small that as he

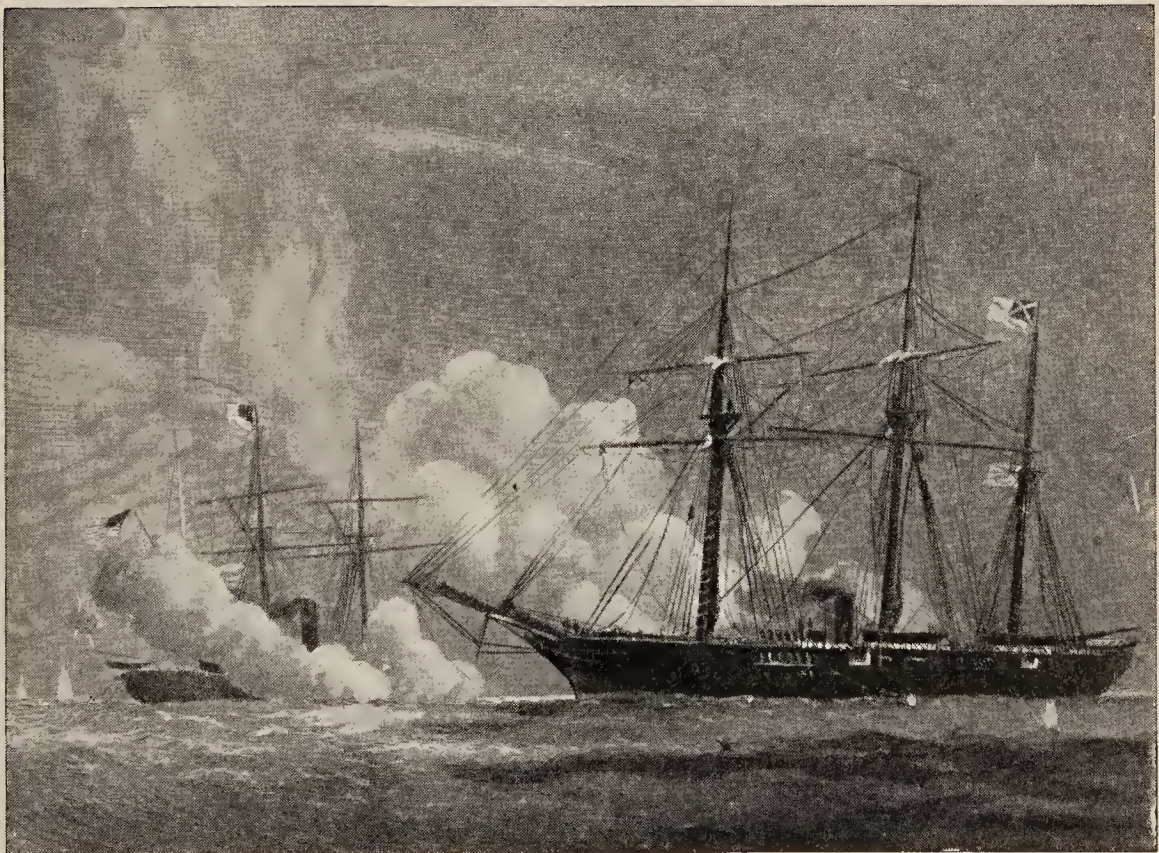
extended his line to protect his communications it became dangerously thin.

On April 1, the line was broken at Five Forks, and the next day the Confederate defenses were penetrated. Lee determined to abandon Richmond, and to attempt to effect a junction with Johnston in North Carolina. Richmond was occupied by the Federal army (April 3), and pursuit of the Army of Northern

The Last Days of the Confederacy



THE SUMTER CAPTURING TWO FEDERAL MERCHANTMEN OFF GIBRALTAR



THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE ALABAMA AND THE KEARSARGE

The combat between the Alabama and the Kearsarge occurred on the morning of Sunday, June 19, 1864, off Cherbourg, France. The Alabama was outclassed and was soon sunk. During her career she had sunk many American vessels. The Alabama was built in England and had been allowed to escape through the connivance of English officials who sympathised with the Confederacy. The Kearsarge was one of a number of Federal ships which had been rapidly completed after war broke out.

Virginia was pressed. Through error, a trainload of supplies which Lee had ordered to meet him had been carried on to Richmond, and his men had been hungry for days. On April 8, Sheridan, with the Federal cavalry, succeeded in placing himself in front of Lee, and was soon supported by infantry. There was no hope of breaking through.

raised, which would be able to carry on the war. General Johnston opposed such a movement and on April 17-18 met General Sherman, and broad terms of surrender were agreed upon, which were, however, disapproved by the authorities at Washington. On April 26, Johnston accepted the same terms which Grant had offered to General Lee, and 37,047



THE BODY OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN ARRIVING AT THE CITY HALL, NEW YORK

The rejoicing of the American nation with the approaching end of the Civil War was suddenly turned to sorrow when, on the evening of April 14th, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theatre, Washington, by John Wilkes Booth. In this picture we see the arrival of the body of the great statesman at the City Hall, New York, whence, after an imposing and impressive service, it was conveyed to Springfield, Illinois, for burial, which took place on May 4th.

On April 9, Lee and Grant met at the house of Wilmer McLean, in the little village of Appomattox Court House, and the terms of surrender were arranged.

Lee Sur-renders Officers and men were paroled, not to fight again until exchanged.

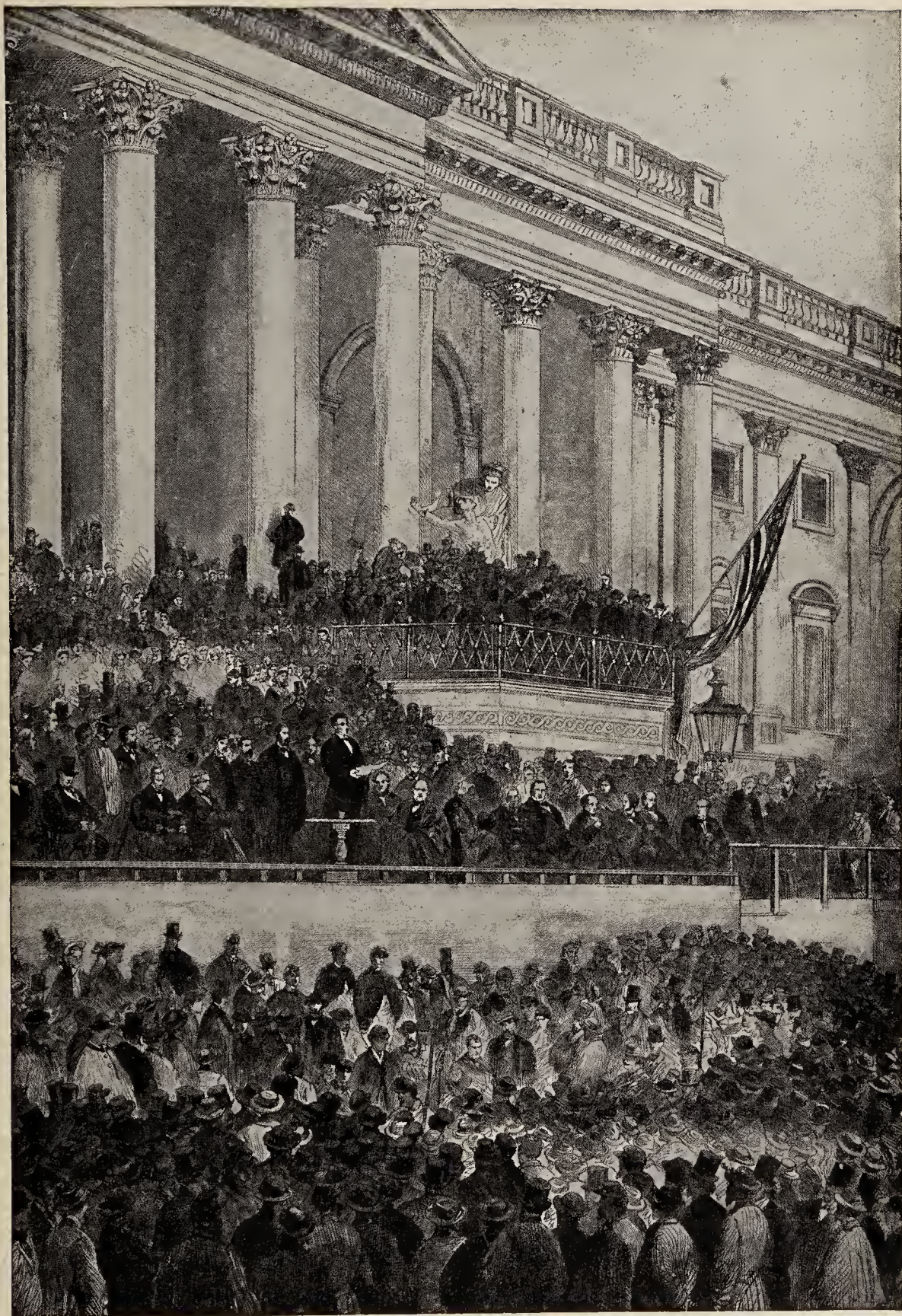
Officers were to retain their side arms and their horses. Since many of the cavalry and the artillerymen owned their own horses, General Grant ordered the officers to allow any man who claimed a horse or mule to take it "for the spring plowing." The number surrendered was 26,765.

Meanwhile President Davis and his cabinet were fleeing southward, some of them hoping that another force could be

men were paroled. The other armies in the South and Southwest were surrendered in May, and all organised resistance ceased.

Jefferson Davis, accompanied only by a few faithful followers, continued southward, at first with the idea of joining General Kirby Smith beyond the Mississippi. When this was seen to be impossible he hoped to escape from the country.

Jefferson Davis is Captured Finally, on May 10, he was captured in Southern Georgia, and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe, where he was treated with harshness. Alexander H. Stephens and other officials of the Confederacy were also imprisoned for a time. The



PRESIDENT FOR THE SECOND TIME: LINCOLN'S GREAT SPEECH IN FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

Lincoln's second inauguration as President of the United States, which took place a few weeks before the surrender of General Lee, marked at once the crowning moment in the history of the Republican party and also in the life of the famous Western lawyer. His overwhelming majority of over 400,000 on election day proved conclusively that the people were with him. The picture on this page shows the front of the Capitol at Washington as it appeared on that occasion, when Lincoln gave utterance to what has come to be regarded as one of his noblest phrases: "With malice toward none, with charity for all."

circumstances of their release belongs to the chapter in Reconstruction.

The war was over. It had been one of the greatest and also one of the most fiercely contested wars in history. It had been fought over a wide extent of territory. About 2,600,000 men were enlisted in the Federal armies. The Confederate records were burned in Richmond and the number in the Confederate armies

due to wounds received, or to disease contracted, in one or other of the armies. The efficiency of many thousands more was permanently reduced by wounds or the hardships of army or prison life. Estimates of the cost of the war in money differ widely. One careful calculation, which takes into account not only the expenditures, but the destruction of property, and the payment for pensions, which still forms an important item in the expenditures of the United States, fixes the total cost at between fifteen and twenty billions of dollars.

Meanwhile the rejoicings in the North had been turned into sorrow. Lincoln had visited Richmond after evacuation, and then had gone to Washington, pondering plans for the restoration of government in the seceded states. On the night of April 14, he attended with his family a performance at Ford's Theatre in Washington. An eccentric actor, John Wilkes Booth, gained access to the President's box, mortally wounded him with a pistol shot, broke his own leg in leaping to the stage, but escaped for the time. He was tracked down finally, and killed while resisting capture. At the same time efforts were made to assassinate Secretary Seward.

In the excitement of the hour the credulous believed that the assassination was the result of a conspiracy involving officers of the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis was charged with complicity in the plot, but the most searching investigation failed to show that anyone except a small circle at Washington had any knowledge of the intentions of Booth. Four of the conspirators were hanged, including a woman, Mrs. Surratt.

The funeral of Lincoln was marked by a great outburst of grief. He had had at all times a strong faction in his own party opposed to him, and these men had done all they could to injure him. The fastidious could not forgive his lack of social graces, his positive uncouthness. The radicals disliked him for his moderation and his ability to put himself in the other man's place. The common people, however, believed in him, because they felt that he understood them. In his death all differences were forgotten.

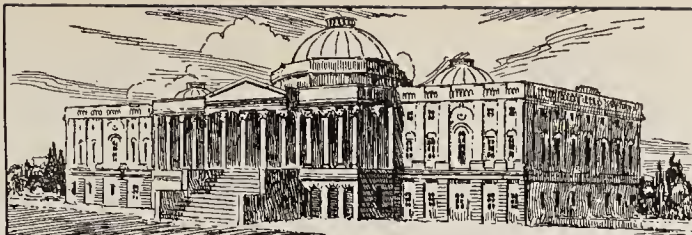


GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT

This picture of General Grant, drawn by Thomas Nast, represents him in the field, about the time of his greatest success.

cannot be stated definitely. It is generally estimated at about 1,000,000, though it is impossible to place much reliance upon this figure. Certainly a very large percentage of the military population of the South was under arms. The bravery and the tenacity of the soldiers of both armies is shown by the percentage of loss in the leading battles, which is much higher than in previous wars.

The cost of the war in men and money was stupendous. The total loss of life, directly and indirectly, has been estimated at a million men. This number includes, of course, not only those mortally wounded or dying of disease in the service, but those whose later deaths were



THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

HOW THE SECEDING STATES REGAINED THEIR FORMER STATUS

THE death of Lincoln automatically made the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, President. Like Jackson and Polk, he had been born in North Carolina, and like them removed to Tennessee. His birth was humble and he received absolutely no schooling. He was apprenticed to a tailor in Raleigh, but, it is said, became dissatisfied and ran away. He worked at his trade, and married a woman of considerable education, who taught him to write and to cipher.

**Andrew Johnson
Becomes
President**

His political career began with his election as a workingman's candidate to the office of alderman of Greenville, Tennessee. Subsequently he served in both houses of the legislature, was for ten years (1843-53) a member of the national House of Representatives, was governor of Tennessee (1853-57) and then became United States Senator. He refused to resign his seat on the secession of Tennessee, and continued to sit until 1862, when he was appointed by President Lincoln military Governor of that part of Tennessee under Federal control. In 1864, though a Democrat, he was nominated and elected Vice-President on the ticket with Lincoln.

The chief problem before him was the restoration of the country to a peace footing. The army was soon disbanded, after a grand review in Washington, and the volunteers sought their homes, there to find civil occupations.

**The Volunteers are
Discharged**

Many European observers had believed this impossible of peaceful accomplishment. They had prophesied that the soldiers, so long free from the restraints of

civil life, would refuse to disband, and that a military dictatorship would be proclaimed. No general, however, attempted such action, and the men were mustered out without disorder. While some were unable to adjust themselves to their former environment, there was surprisingly little difficulty. Somehow the majority found places within the industrial system, or else created new positions for themselves. Many sought the less restrained West, and took part in the development of that region.

In the South, adjustment was more difficult. For four years, the greater part of the younger and more vigorous men had been under arms. The fields had been tilled by slaves, or by old men, boys and women. Commerce had been paralysed. Now the whole economic system was destroyed. Banks had suspended; the railroads, worn by the stress of four years of war, and often torn up by raiding parties, were little more than streaks of rust; the machinery in the few factories existing, tried by unusual stress, was almost useless; tools, and implements of production generally, were worn out, and there was no capital for replacement. Whole sections, over which invading armies had marched, or over which both armies had fought, had been devastated. Buildings had been burned, live stock had been killed or carried away, and all accumulated stores consumed or destroyed. The negro had been emancipated, and there was no place for him in the previously existing economic system. Men who had been wealthy found themselves poor; those formerly poor were now poorer than

**The Confederate
Soldier
Goes Home**

ever. The destruction of the whole social structure made many hopeless. It was these conditions which the Confederate soldier had to face.

The question of the status of the Confederate States had come up before the assassination of President Lincoln. It seemed to be his theory that the states had never been out of the Union, but that disloyal persons in each were in rebellion against the authority of the United States. When the loyal element again controlled the policy of the community, then the state would automatically resume its former position. He had regarded the whole question of the restoration of the Union as an executive problem, with which Congress had little to do. Apparently Congress at first agreed with his theory of the status of the seceded States, and also with his methods. He had appointed military governors over the portions of Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas, under Federal control, and had authorised the calling of conventions to adopt new constitutions. Two men elected to the House of Representatives from that part of Louisiana which had been overrun, were allowed to take their seats early in 1863.

Congress, however, early in 1864, interfered and refused to admit other representatives of Louisiana or of the other states to Congress, and announced a method by which states might be admitted into the Union.

This Act disfranchised all who had held office, civil or military, under the State or Confederate government, required an oath of allegiance, and gave the President power to appoint a provisional governor in every state. When a majority of the white males had taken the oath, they might elect delegates to a convention to adopt a constitution. This constitution must forbid slavery, repudiate all debts contracted on account of the war, and disqualify all those who had held any important office under the secession government from voting or holding legislative office, or being elected governor.

When this had been done, the President, with the consent of Congress, might declare the state again a member of the

Union. President Lincoln refused to sign the bill, and issued a proclamation setting forth his reasons. In this he seemed to be sustained by the people in the election of 1864, though, of course, this was not the leading issue. Congress, however, refused to count the electoral votes cast by Louisiana and Tennessee. In this there was a certain inconsistency, as Andrew Johnson, a resident of the latter State, had been elected Vice-President. Either Tennessee was actually a State, or else the election of Johnson was void, as the Constitution specifically requires that the President or the Vice-President must be a citizen of a State.

Before his election to the Vice-Presidency, Johnson had been distinguished by his hatred of secession, and had denounced the leaders of that movement in unmeasured terms. He thought, or claimed to think, that Southern leaders had guilty knowledge of the assassination of Lincoln, if they had not actually planned the crime. Some of the radical Republicans even feared that he would be too violent in his attempt to have "treason punished." Soon after his accession to the Presidency, however, it was plain that he had become more moderate, and it was not long before he took precisely what had been Lincoln's position. This change in attitude has generally been attributed to the influence of Secretary Seward, who continued to hold the office of Secretary of State to the end of his administration.

It is probable that Lincoln, had he lived, would have soon been engaged in a struggle with the leaders of his party in Congress. In this contest he would have had the advantage of having brought the war to a successful end, besides his marvellous knowledge of human nature and his wonderful political skill. Johnson had none of these advantages, and was regarded with disfavour by the leading members of the party. He was in addition abrupt, opinionated, stubborn, tactless and violent in speech. In the inevitable contest he was hopelessly handicapped from the beginning.

Congress was not in session at his accession, and the President proceeded

President Lincoln Opposes Congress

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction

Congress Interferes with the Plan

Johnson Adopts Lincoln's Plan

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

to put into effect his theory of Reconstruction. On May 29, 1865, he issued a proclamation of amnesty, exempting from its provisions certain classes who had been leaders either in secession, or in the civil or military administration of the Confederacy. These, however, might as individuals secure pardon from the President by direct application. On the same day he appointed a provisional governor for North Carolina, and authorised him to call a constitutional convention. All who could meet the conditions mentioned, and who were qualified by the laws in force at the time the Ordinance of Secession was adopted, were to be permitted to vote.

Similar action was taken in the case of Mississippi (June 13); Georgia (June 17); Alabama (June 21); South Carolina (June 30); Florida (July 13). He had of course recognised the earlier Reconstruction of Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, and had also recognised the so-called loyal government of Virginia. During the entire period of the war, Francis H. Pierpont had exercised, from Alexandria, under the Federal guns, a sort of shadowy authority over a few counties of Virginia, and this government was now to be extended over the whole of the state except that part which had been cut off to constitute the new State of West Virginia.

Before the meeting of Congress in December, conventions had met in all of these states. The Ordinance of Secession had been repealed or had been declared void, and slavery had been abolished.

All except two had repudiated the debt incurred in support of the war, and all except two had adopted the Thirteenth Amendment, forbidding slavery. State officers, Representatives and Senators had been generally elected. In short, all of the eleven seceding states, except Texas, were in the process of Reconstruction, and were ready, or soon would be ready, to assume their functions in the Union according to the President's plan. This President Johnson announced in his annual message.

Immediately hostility to the course of the President was manifested. A joint

committee of both houses of Congress was appointed to inquire into the status of the states, and until the committee should report no member elected to Congress from any of these states was to be admitted. It was evident that Congress meant to assert that the restoration of the states to full participation in the government was a legislative and not an executive matter. The leader of the Republicans in the House, Thaddeus Stevens, the remorseless hater of the South, soon announced his position. He practically acknowledged that the Confederate states had been out of the Union, and held that they were conquered territory, with which Congress might deal as it pleased. This was of course the direct opposite of the theory of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson and their supporters.

A sort of compromise theory was advanced, and was later developed fully by Senator Sumner. This held in effect that while no state could legally go out of the Union, yet by the act of rebellion it had lost its status as a state—committed a sort of state suicide in fact—and could only be restored by the co-operation of the loyal element and the Congress of the United States. It was upon this theory that Congress finally acted, though not consistently, rejecting both the more radical theory of Stevens, and the theory of Lincoln, which was of course the theory upon which the war had been fought. In fact, the Republican leaders absolutely repudiated their past declarations, through which the North had so largely united in support of the war.

While waiting for the committee to report, further legislation was prepared. Before the end of the war, the "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands," usually known as the "Freedmen's Bureau," had been established to look after the interests of the newly emancipated slaves until one year after the end of the war. The Bureau was authorised to settle negroes on abandoned lands, or upon lands belonging to the United States, and to issue food, clothing, and fuel to the destitute. While some-

**Reconstruction
Begins in
North Carolina**

**Congressional
Opposition
is Shown**

**The Con-
gressional
Theory**

**Ten
States
Are Ready**

**The
Freedmen's
Bureau**

thing of the sort was perhaps necessary, the management was bad. No inquiry was made as to reasons for destitution, and the negroes finding that all their wants were supplied freely, and believing that every family was to be provided with "forty acres and a mule," refused to work and flocked to the towns. They expected the government to support them permanently, and soon the whole race seemed to be in the way of becoming paupers or criminals.

Partly to counteract the effect of the Freedmen's Bureau upon the negroes, partly to express what they thought to be a possible working plan for the two

The Black Codes of the South races, the legislatures of the Southern states had begun to pass laws defining the status of the blacks. Though the states

had abolished slavery they by no means recognised the negroes as political, social or economic equals. Mississippi adopted the most elaborate code for the blacks. It provided for the apprenticeship of minor orphans, or children not properly supported by their parents; for a strict vagrancy law, requiring every negro to have either a contract of employment, or a license to do irregular work. Failure to accept work when offered was vagrancy and punishment for quitting his employment without good reason was provided. Negroes were also forbidden to have firearms. The list of misdemeanours for which a negro might be punished was long, and if he could not pay his fine, he was to be hired out to the white man who would pay his fine and costs for the shortest term of service. Moreover no negro might rent land or a house, except in an incorporated town. No suggestion of granting political rights was made.

For every one of these regulations the Southerners thought they had a valid reason. Many of the negroes acknowledged no family ties; they were refusing to work, were roaming the unpoliced country, committing all manner of petty depredations, while confidently awaiting the expected distribution of land. Since all were without money, they must be supported. If they abandoned a crop before it was gathered after receiving food and other supplies it would be a total loss, and the owners of the land

would lose all. The vagrancy and apprenticeship laws of Mississippi were much like the older laws of the State applying to whites, and to the whites some regulation of this sort seemed necessary to reduce the disorganised mass of blacks, "landless and homeless," into some sort of order.

In the North, these and similar Acts passed by other States, were held up to reprobation and fiercely denounced as

The North is Disturbed attempts to re-enslave the blacks. The radicals declared that if the presidential plan of Reconstruction were al-

lowed to proceed, the fruits of the War would be lost and slavery would practically be re-established. They declared that such legislation was proof positive that the spirit of secession and slavery was still active, and that if these states were allowed to come back into the Union, they might by combination with Northern Democrats soon control the Union they had attempted to destroy. Here they consciously proclaimed that the only loyal men were Republicans.

One of the first moves was to pass an act extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau and enlarging its powers. It also provided that where a State discriminated against the freedmen, military law should be extended over that State, said law to be executed by Bureau officials. Johnson promptly vetoed the bill, and his opponents were not numerous enough to pass it over the veto. Elated at his success, Johnson, probably while partially intoxicated, made a speech in which he abusively charged Sumner, Stevens and others with attempting to subvert the government. After this exasperating episode future harmony became impossible.

Up to this time it had never been suggested that the control of citizenship lay anywhere else than in the State. The committee which reported the Freed-

The Civil Rights Bill men's Bureau Bill, however, reported at the same time the Civil Rights Bill, declaring all

persons born in the United States, except Indians, to be citizens, "entitled to full and equal benefit of all laws" enjoyed by whites, and "subject to like punishment, pains and penalties and to none other." All cases under this

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

Act were transferred to the Federal courts. It was claimed that this Act was based upon the Thirteenth Amendment, now a part of the Constitution.

The President promptly vetoed this bill also. It was known that the radical House would pass the bill over his veto. The question depended upon the moderate Senate, but now some other factors entered into the situation. The President had shown himself uncompromisingly upon the side of States' Rights, and even the more moderate were beginning to doubt the wisdom of his policy. It had also dawned upon the minds of all that if the Southern states were allowed at once to take their old places in the Union, they would have disproportionate power. According to the Constitution, they had been allowed to count three-fifths of the negroes (p. 6168) in calculating their electoral vote. Now that the negroes were freed, but not voters, they would be able to count them all. On the old basis, the states which had seceded would have sixty-one votes; counting all the negroes they would have seventy; without counting the negroes, they would have only forty-five.

Perhaps greater in influence than these were the stories of "Southern outrages" which were being spread broadcast.

The Stories of "Southern Outrages" Many were greatly exaggerated; many were manufactured outright; but some were genuine. It was difficult for many Southerners to recognise the negro as a citizen, and on the other hand, freedom meant license to many negroes. Instances of insolence or worse were punished by extra-legal means. The radical press emphasised and exaggerated every instance which the many officials of the Freedmen's Bureau and others took particular pains to report.

One important factor in the situation was the great number of women who went south to teach the negroes. These almost universally taught and practised social equality. Generally they meant well and some were filled with missionary fervour. The effect of their teaching on the negroes was to incite them against the native whites, who did not recognise such doctrine. The negroes

often became insolent and overbearing, and the whites in turn retaliated by whipping or otherwise punishing the negroes or the white men who were thought to be in sympathy with them. Some school buildings were burned, and the teachers driven away, but in few or no instances were the teachers harmed. Every personal collision between a white man and a negro growing out of any difference whatever was reported by the radical press without investigation as an instance of inexcusable aggression against the freedmen.

All of these influences taken together had a great effect in the North. The Civil Rights Bill was passed over the President's veto, and the radicals, encouraged by success, passed on to further measures. For fear

The Fourteenth Amendment Proposed lest the Civil Rights Bill be declared unconstitutional, its principles were to become a part of the organic law. After much discussion, the Fourteenth Amendment was presented to the states. "All persons born or naturalised in the United States" were to be citizens not only of the States but of the United States. It was further provided that any State withholding the franchise from male citizens of voting age was to suffer a loss of representation; the prominent Confederates were excluded from public office, unless pardoned by Congress; all debts "incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States" were invalidated. The acceptance of this amendment by the seceding states was later required before the state governments were recognised.

In July, another bill, extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau for two years, and greatly enlarging its sphere of activity, was passed over the President's veto. One student of Reconstruction says: "There is no doubt that the Freedmen's Bureau, with its powers, jurisdiction and charities, was a far greater source of irritation in the South, than was the presence of the United States Army. While its superior officers were generally men of ability and character, a large number of the subalterns were canting hypocrites and outright thieves. They kept the negroes in a state of idleness, beggary and unrest, and made them a constant

danger to the life and property of the whites; and their veritable tyranny over the white population did more to destroy Union sentiment among the whites, and make them regard the United States government in a hostile light than anything which had happened during the whole course of the rebellion."

Evidently the seceding states were to be punished, but one escaped. Tennessee, in which there was much Union sentiment even during the war, had already adopted both the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Amendments and was, July 24, 1866, admitted to representation in Congress. This State therefore escaped the trials which the other seceding states were to experience during the next ten years.

The Joint Committee on Reconstruction presented its report before the adjournment of Congress in ample time for use as a campaign document in the Congressional elections of 1866. A convention of moderate men met in Philadelphia and endorsed the course of the President, but in a series of undignified and vituperative speeches made on a trip throughout the country, he did his cause much harm. In the elections the Republicans were overwhelmingly successful, electing more than two-thirds of each house of Congress. Just before the President's trip to "swing around the circle" as it was called, he issued a proclamation, August 20, 1866, declaring the war to be at an end.

During this period the ten seceding states not yet admitted to representation had been considering the Fourteenth Amendment, and generally were rejecting it. In this course they were doubtless influenced by the advice of the President, and by the hope that the legislation so far proposed would be declared unconstitutional. The number of

The South Rejects the Amendment negroes in the Northern states was almost negligible but in the South negro suffrage was a vital question. The Southerners were encouraged to believe that the election of 1868 would reverse the position of the political parties, and that the result would be more favourable to them. They did not fully realise the lengths to which the radical majority was prepared to go.

When the triumphant radicals assembled in Congress, plans were already formed to destroy all of President Johnson's work of restoration, and to build from the beginning. So, early in 1867,

The Reconstruction Acts

Thaddeus Stevens, now supreme in the House, reported the first of the Reconstruction Acts, soon to be followed by others. The First Act declared that the existing governments in the "rebel states" did not protect life or property, and provided for the creation of five military districts, each to be under the command of an officer "not below the rank of brigadier general." He might at his discretion allow civil tribunals to try cases, or might "organise military commissions or tribunals for that purpose." The right of the Federal Courts to issue writs of *habeas corpus* against the proceedings of such commissions was explicitly denied.

These military governors, moreover, were authorised by the Second Act to register all male citizens resident one year in the state, who were not "disfranchised for participation in the rebellion or for felony at common law." Elections for delegates to constitutional conventions were then to be held. When these conventions had provided that all who had voted for delegates should enjoy the franchise, and the action of the conventions had been ratified by the same electors, then the constitutions should be submitted to Congress. If Congress approved the constitutions, and the legislatures elected under the new constitutions adopted the Fourteenth Amendment, the states might be admitted to representation in Congress.

In other words, negroes were to be allowed to vote for delegates to a convention to adopt a constitution giving them the right to vote, and should then be permitted to vote to accept that constitution. At the same time all white men who had held any office whatever and afterward had aided the Confederacy in any way were disfranchised. Thus negro suffrage was to be forced upon the Southern states, though only a few of the Northern states permitted negroes to vote. The deliberate purpose was to strengthen the Republican party.

Negro Suffrage is Introduced

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

To force negro suffrage upon the Northern states at that time would have been unpopular, but since the negroes formed such a large part of the electorate in the South, it was believed that these states could be made permanently Republican, and the domination of that party be extended indefinitely.

The First Act was vetoed by President Johnson, but passed over his veto the same day, March 2, 1867, and the President appointed the officers to carry the Act into effect. The Second Reconstruction Act was passed over the President's veto, March 23, and the Third likewise on July 19. Knowing the President's lack of sympathy with such legislation, Congress attempted to tie his hands still further. President Johnson had continued in office Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who was in entire sympathy with the radicals. His co-operation with Congress was deemed necessary, and therefore, March 2, Congress passed over the President's veto, the Tenure of Office Act, taking away from the Executive the power of removal of all officers, whose nomination required confirmation by the Senate. The President might suspend an officer during the recess of the Senate, but must within twenty days after that body reassembled present his reasons therefor. If the Senate deemed them insufficient, the suspended officer at once resumed his place. The same day that these two bills were passed over the President's veto, March 2, 1867, by a rider attached to an appropriation bill, the President was forbidden to give any orders to the army except through the General of the Army (General Grant), or to order him away from Washington except with the consent of the Senate.

It is generally the view of political scientists of the present day that all of these Acts were unconstitutional, but Congress in its policy of intimidating the President and securing the supremacy of the legislative branch of the government had also shown a tendency to intimidate the Supreme Court. That body avoided assuming jurisdiction in the few cases that could be brought before it, and did not declare its position.

The supplementary Reconstruction Acts controverted the instructions issued by the President to the military governors. These instructions had received the unanimous approval of the Cabinet with the exception of Secretary Stanton. By this time the President had come to consider Stanton as a spy set upon his actions, and August 3, 1867, asked him to resign. That officer, regardless of the proprieties of the case, refused, whereupon the President suspended him and appointed General Grant Secretary *ad interim*. When Congress convened and the matter was reported to the Senate, that body voted that the reasons were insufficient. President Johnson had hoped that General Grant would contest this decision and thereby allow the matter to be brought before the courts. The General, however, retired without notifying the President, and Stanton resumed his functions.

Johnson, however, was not ready to yield. On Feb. 21, 1868, he dismissed Stanton and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas Secretary *ad interim*. The news of this action infuriated the majority in both Senate and House and a resolution to impeach the President was immediately presented in the latter body. Stanton meanwhile had General Thomas arrested, but he was soon released on bail. It had been determined that when the case was called, he would refuse to give further bail, and when committed to jail would ask for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Stanton, however, scenting his purpose, withdrew the complaint, thus preventing the matter from going before the court.

Meanwhile the resolution to impeach the President passed the House, and a committee was named to draw up articles of impeachment. They were adopted March 3 and presented to the Senate the next day. The following day (March 5) the Senate was organised as a court of impeachment. Eleven articles were presented, but the charges may be reduced to these: (1) that the President had violated the Tenure of Office Act by dismissing Stanton; (2) that he had violated the Anti-Conspiracy Act; (3) that he had declared laws unconstitutional;

**Johnson
Removes
Stanton**

**The Tenure-
of-Office
Act**

**The Presi-
dent is
Impeached**

**Congress
and the Su-
preme Court**

(4) that he had criticised and ridiculed Congress; (5) that he had attempted to prevent the execution of various Acts of Congress.

The President was represented by able counsel, while the managers on the part of the House were better known as politicians than as constitutional lawyers. It soon became evident that he could not be legally convicted on the charge of removing Stanton and that his conviction, if secured, would be on political grounds. Public opinion outside of Washington began to favour the President, and he at the psychological moment nominated the popular General Schofield to be Secretary of War, thus controverting the charge that he wished the War Department to be managed by some creature of his own, who would refuse to carry out Congressional legislation.

The vote on Article XI, which really summed up all the others and was generally considered to be the strongest, was taken May 16. There were fifty-four Senators, and the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote to convict. Thirty-five Senators voted guilty, nineteen, not guilty. By one vote, the impeachment failed. It is said, that if it had been necessary, other votes might have been had for acquittal, but this can not be verified. The Republican Senators who broke away from their party were bitterly denounced and the political careers of some of them were ended, but their course has been justified by the passage of time. Every student of government realises now that the issue was far broader than the personal approval of one man, but had to do with the fundamentals of government.

During the war, the Executive, as always happens, overshadowed both the Legislature and the Judiciary. With the passing of Lincoln and the development of a number of strong-willed leaders in Congress, the Legislative Department began its career of usurpation of the powers belonging to the other branches of the government. It succeeded for a time in overawing the Supreme Court, but Johnson stood firm. The real principle at stake in the trial was the independence of the Executive

branch of the government. If impeachment had been successful there is little doubt but that succeeding Presidents would have been either figureheads, or else puppets of Congress.

During the remainder of his term, the President was practically ignored by Congress, which, however, seemed to take pleasure in passing bills over his veto. He went out of office despised and discredited, but just before his death was again elected United States Senator from Tennessee. He claimed to the last that Congress had departed from Republican principles and not he. The party had begun as an organisation opposed to the extension of slavery, and pledged to the maintenance of the Union. An early declaration of the Republican Congress asserted that the war was not waged with the purpose "of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the Southern States, but to defend and maintain the Supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired." All of this Johnson believed, and upon the principles laid down, he acted.

Now let us return to the ten states not yet restored to participation in the Union. The military governors obeyed their orders, and held elections for delegates to constitutional conventions. By this time the Southern whites were becoming united. At first there had been a strong party which wished to co-operate in the work of Reconstruction, but the partisan legislation of Congress soon impelled the great mass of white men to act together.

Therefore it was quietly determined to get upon the registration lists if possible.

Many white men succeeded in spite of the regulations designed to prevent. The constitutions all recognised negro suffrage as required by the Reconstruction Acts, and six of them disfranchised ex-Confederates. According to the Acts all who had voted for delegates were entitled to vote on the question of adopting the state constitutions, and a majority of the registered vote was required for adoption. When the constitutions were offered to the people, the white men calmly remained away from the polls.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

As a result less than a majority voted to adopt the constitution of Alabama, but Congress immediately voted that a majority of the votes cast should be sufficient. In all the ten states except Virginia, Mississippi and Texas the constitutions were ratified, and therefore in June, 1868, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida were admitted to representation in Congress, as soon as the legislatures had adopted the Fourteenth Amendment. The legislature of Arkansas had already ratified the Amendment, and had been admitted on June 22, three days before the other six.

These states were now for the most part in control of negro majorities, as the natural leaders, the men of intelligence and property, were generally disfranchised. The negroes were led by a few white men. Some of these had come from the North, and as the majority were adventurers, without means, who were said to have brought all their worldly possessions in a valise, they were generally called "carpetbaggers." With them joined some Southern white men — usually of the class which before the war had had little political or social influence — who were called "scalawags" by their neighbours. Soon some of the negroes demanded a share of the leadership. The great majority of the negroes blindly followed these leaders white or black.

The story of the Reconstruction legislatures is long, and the excesses would require a volume themselves. Without political training, unaccustomed to power, easily flattered, the legislators obeyed their corrupt leaders without question. In North Carolina the first legislature issued more than \$25,000,000 of bonds, ostensibly in aid of railroads, which were sold for whatever they would bring, but no railroads were built. The taxable valuation of the State was about \$125,000,000. Corruption was rampant. Conditions in South Carolina were worse. Extravagant sums were voted for all sorts of projects, the greater part of which went into the pockets of a few leaders. Similar conditions prevailed in other states. The great majority of the

legislators were satisfied with their compensation, several times as large as they could earn outside, and with the free restaurant and bar maintained at state expense. Taxes mounted higher and higher, until they became confiscatory. This did not affect the legislators as few of them paid a cent in taxes. Every attempt was made to "put the bottom rail on top." Some officers in every county were negroes. This reversal of previous conditions had great effect upon the ordinary negroes. Many became insolent, houses and barns were burned, white men were waylaid, outrages on women, heretofore unknown, began.

The Southern white men determined to secure control of the government at all hazards, and by any means. Violence and intimidation were used, but since United States troops were stationed in every state, it was necessary to be wary. One of the most effective agencies was the Ku Klux Klan. This order seems to have originated in Tennessee, and was at first a circle (Greek, *Kuklos*) of pleasure-seeking young men who met in an old house. The negroes who saw the lights and heard the sounds believed the house to be haunted, and the members encouraged the belief. A parade was held, in which both horses and riders were disguised. The muffled hoofs of the horses made no noise, and the negroes were greatly frightened. The idea spread, apparently at first as a joke. Serious men soon recognised the possibilities of such an organisation and a secret order under military rule was created. There was a "Grand Wizard" at the head, a "Grand Dragon" over each state, a "Grand Titan" over each congressional district, and a "Grand Cyclops" over the county. Orders were obeyed implicitly, though it was rare that a man knew even the name of any officer except those of his local "den," as the local band was called.

With both men and horses disguised in flowing draperies, the men met, when ordered, at a rendezvous, usually in the wood at night, and moved silently to the task they were commanded to execute. Sometimes only a warning was delivered when a negro, a "carpetbagger"

Eight States
Now
Restored

The
Ku Klux
Klan

The Story
of Re-
construction

How the
Klan
Worked

or a "scalawag" was wakened at dead of night to find his house surrounded by ghostly horsemen; sometimes he was bound to a tree and whipped; later, when passions grew hotter, he was spirited away, to reappear, perhaps, after an election had passed with only a vague idea of where he had been confined; occasionally his lifeless body was found. Apparently action ending in death was seldom or never taken during 1867 and 1868. By that time it was evident to the men who had formed the order that they had aroused a force difficult to control.

The more conservative men attempted to disband the Klan, and withdrew, but the local units continued to meet, and the rasher members were less restrained. Usually when severe action was to be taken, a band from a neighbouring county was called in, thus making detection more difficult. Congress interfered by passing the Ku Klux Act in 1871, authorising the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and to send troops into any section where he believed it to be necessary. General Grant, now President, was entirely governed by the radicals at this time and used the powers granted him to the utmost. No resistance was made, but it was exceedingly difficult to get evidence. Several hundred men were arrested, however, and held in confinement for indefinite periods. To this day most Southerners who lived through Reconstruction maintain that the Klan saved civilisation in the South.

Let us now go back to the other events of the administration of President Johnson. The capture of Jefferson Davis has already been mentioned, and also his imprisonment and that of other Confederate leaders.

It was at first intended to connect some of them with the assassination of President Lincoln, and failing that, to try them on the charge of treason, but not one was brought to trial, as the radicals were informed that conviction would be impossible. While in Fortress Monroe, Davis was put into irons by General Nelson A. Miles, the officer in charge, and this needless severity did much to restore the Confederate chieftain to the esteem and affection of the South. He had become unpopular during the war — if he had ever been really popular — but

now the Southerners felt that he had suffered for them. Finally, in 1867, he was admitted to bail, and later the case was dismissed.

The foreign relations of the administration were important. Through the negotiations of Secretary Seward, the purchase of Alaska, for \$7,200,000, was arranged. Events since have abundantly justified the purchase, but it was then thought to be an outrageous price for "icefields and polar bears." The country was handed over to the United States in October, 1867. During the War, Napoleon III. of France had founded the ill-starred Empire of Mexico, with Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, the present ruler of Austria-Hungary, as Emperor. This certainly violated the Monroe Doctrine, and when the War was ended and the United States could turn its attention to foreign affairs, an army was sent to Texas. Seward, however, was able to secure the removal of the French troops without war in 1867. The Empire, which existed only by the support of the French arms, fell almost at once and the unfortunate Maximilian was executed.

During Johnson's administration, claims against England for lax enforcement of neutrality laws in allowing the escape of the *Alabama* and other commerce destroyers were presented, but these negotiations were not brought to a successful conclusion until later.

It had been Johnson's dream to create a new conservative party, which should unite the North and South, but his efforts failed. He had felt that his course had given him a valid claim for the Democratic nomination for President, but he had aroused too much antagonism, and like Tyler, failed to gain the coveted nomination. The Republican convention met first and nominated General Grant for President, and Schuyler Colfax for Vice-President. The Democratic convention was badly split into factions, and chose a dark horse, Horatio Seymour of New York, for President, and F. P. Blair, Jr., for Vice-President. Naturally, the military hero won. The Republican candidates received 214 electoral votes to 80 cast for the Democrats.

Jefferson
Davis is
Released

The
Elections
of 1868

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth President, was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822, of New England stock. His father was a prosperous tanner and farmer, and the future President worked

Early Life of President Grant both in the tanyard and on the farm during his boyhood. He received an appointment to West Point, was graduated in the class of 1843, and during the Mexican War served under both General Taylor and General Scott. After the war he was ordered to the Pacific coast, and attained the rank of captain. Finding difficulty in supporting a family on his pay, he resigned in 1854, and until 1858 ran a farm near St. Louis, but was not successful. Next he attempted to establish a real estate business in St. Louis, but this also was unprofitable. In 1860 he removed to Galena, Illinois, to take a clerkship in a tannery and leather store belonging to his father.

When President Lincoln called for troops in 1861, he was assigned to duty in the adjutant general's office by the Governor of Illinois, and did valuable service in mustering in volunteers and fitting them out. During the summer he was assigned to the command of an Illinois regiment, and was sent to Missouri. While there he was promoted to brigadier general and commanded in some minor actions along the Mississippi, and in Kentucky. In February, 1862, he was allowed to attempt to carry out his plan to take Fort Henry. From this point, his successful career has already been told.

General Grant was no politician, and was supposed to have Democratic leanings as the only vote he had ever cast had been for James Buchanan. His quarrel with President Johnson, however, brought him into sympathy with the opponents of the President, and he acted with them during the greater part of the eight years he served as President. At the same time his unbounded popularity in the North enabled him to exercise a certain measure of restraint over both houses, and to prevent, when he so desired, the passage of extreme legislation. He was also able to secure the modification of some of the more drastic acts already passed. For

example he was able to secure without difficulty the immediate modification of the Tenure-of-Office Act, and other evidences of his influence will be mentioned later.

When he became President, Texas, Mississippi and Virginia had refused to ratify the new constitutions. Georgia, which had been admitted to representation, had again been put under provisional government and was later subjected to military rule. Virginia had rejected the constitution formed by the convention because of objectionable clauses disfranchising whites. President Grant was able to procure from Congress authority to submit these clauses separately. They were voted down, but the remainder of the constitution was adopted, and Virginia was restored in January, 1870. In this State the whites immediately secured control. The constitution of Mississippi was also resubmitted, was adopted, with the omission of the objectionable clauses, and this state was restored in February, 1870. The Texas constitution did not contain the objectionable clauses and when resubmitted was adopted. The State was admitted to representation March 30, of the same year.

Now only Georgia was left outside. The State was among the six admitted to representation by the Act of June 25, 1868, and the first legislature contained a white majority. The legislature expelled some coloured members on the ground that the constitution of the state did not give negroes the right to hold office. Congress passed an act ordering the governor to summon all elected members of the legislature, and to submit to them an oath which would automatically disfranchise many of the white members. The opposition to this order was so intense that the State was again reduced to the condition of a military district. Finally, after the State had ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, of which we shall presently speak, by an act dated July 15, 1870, the representatives were admitted to Congress. All the seceding states were now recognised as members of the Union, though United States troops were stationed in some of them for years afterward.

The Strange Case of Georgia

Though negro suffrage had been forced upon the South by the Reconstruction Acts, and to some extent by the Fourteenth Amendment, some of the Northern states would have none of it, even refusing to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment because of the small loss of representation they would suffer. The

Negro Suffrage in the North Republican platform of 1868 went so far as to say that "suffrage in the loyal States belongs to the people of those States." This came to be felt to be a cowardly evasion which could not be defended. Therefore, after much discussion, on February 26, 1869, just before the inauguration of General Grant, the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress and sent to the states.

This Amendment provided that the right to vote should not be denied "on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." It was rejected by New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Oregon and California. Georgia and Ohio at first rejected it, but finally accepted, while New York at first ratified, but afterward voted to reject. Tennessee took no action. Three-fourths of the states, however, had voted to accept, and the Amendment became a part of the Constitution on March 30, 1870. It will be noted that if the Amendment had not been ratified by the carpetbag legislatures of the Southern states it would have been lost; or if they had been excluded from voting, it would also have been lost if New York's change of vote had been allowed.

Congress passed during Grant's first administration the "Force Bill" intended to keep the South Republican by insuring that negro votes be cast and counted, but

The Whites Begin to Control as the legislatures, composed principally of carpetbaggers, scalawags and negroes, continued their wild career of extravagance and corruption, the white men stood closer together and used every method to secure control. Native white men in Georgia secured control of the first legislature after the state was finally admitted to representation, and the carpetbag governor resigned and left the State. North Carolina in two years had seen an increase of \$27,000,000 in the debt of the State, the rate of taxation

multiplied by four, and had seen the laws suspended by the governor. A white legislature was elected in 1870 and the scalawag governor, W. W. Holden, was impeached and removed from office. Texas came under white rule in 1872.

These states had white majorities. In the states where the negroes were in a majority, the process was more difficult. In Alabama, the debt was almost multiplied by five before 1874, and the white men, by every method which would not bring them directly in conflict with the law, were able to secure a majority of the legislature in 1874. Arkansas was also successful the same year. The next year Mississippi was able to overcome the negro majority. Bands of armed men rode through the country, impressing upon the negroes that trouble might follow if too many negroes went to the polls. There was some actual violence, but generally before the election. The national elections of 1874 had administered a crushing rebuke to the radicals by returning a large Democratic majority to the national House of Representatives and it was evident that the North was no longer in favour of harsh measures. The President refused to send troops to Mississippi and a Democratic legislature was chosen, which would have impeached Governor Ames, a Massachusetts carpetbagger, but for his resignation. South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana almost succeeded in securing white supremacy, but not quite. This, however, was accomplished the next year, 1876.

For some reason, which has never been explained, President Grant, early in his administration, fell under the influence of the notorious Benjamin F. Butler, who became the leader of the radicals in the House after the death of Thaddeus Stevens. It was to this fact that his support of the carpetbag governments by armed force was due, and many of the misfortunes of his second term also grew out of this malign influence. The President was not a politician, and had given little attention to matters of government. He very early became impressed with the plan of annexing the negro republic of Santo Domingo, but the Senate twice refused to ratify the

The Influence of General Butler

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

treaty, much to the President's displeasure, which was largely directed toward Senator Sumner, whose last years were embittered by this hostility.

The demand upon England for compensation for the injury to the United States done by the sailing of the Confederate commerce destroyers has already been mentioned. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, pressed the matter, and in 1871, it was agreed to leave the matter to a joint commission of five members, one of them named by each of the interested parties, and one each by the rulers of Italy, Brazil and Switzerland. The commission was organised at Geneva in 1871, and came to a decision the next year.

The United States claimed not only direct damages, but indirect damages for loss of trade, increased cost of insurance, and prolongation of the war. The claim for indirect damages was denied, but the negligence of Great Britain was affirmed, and the damages fixed at \$15,500,000 in gold, chiefly for the destruction caused by the *Alabama* and the *Shenandoah*.

The case of the *Virginius* disturbed relations with Spain in 1873. This steamer, improperly flying the American flag, was captured by a Spanish steamer, while carrying a load of munitions to the Cuban revolutionists. Fifty-three of the crew and passengers—among them eight American citizens—were condemned by court martial and shot. There was great excitement in the United States, and strong demand for war; but Secretary Fish was able to secure the return of the steamer and the surviving passengers and crew with a salute to the American flag. Later it was decided that the steamer had no right to the American protection.

The President was used by two unscrupulous speculators, Jay Gould and James Fisk, who attempted to corner the gold market in New York in 1869. On "Black Friday," September 24, the gold dollar was forced to 162 on the New York Stock Exchange, sending many into bankruptcy. It was suggested at the time that the President had profited personally by the panic, but there is not the slightest evidence in support of the idea, though he had been indiscreet

in associating publicly with Fisk and Gould.

A faction known as Liberal Republicans had developed, opposed to the radical policy, and in 1872 held a national convention. Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was nominated for the Presidency as a compromise candidate and the Democratic convention endorsed the man who had denounced them without stint through so many years. The Republican convention renominated the President, stressing his war record and approving Congressional Reconstruction. Greeley, erratic and impulsive, was an impossible candidate. The Democrats could not support him with enthusiasm, and it was soon seen that he had no chance of election. When the votes were counted, Grant had 272 and Greeley 66. Mrs. Greeley died just before the election, and this, together with the abuse to which he had been subjected, and his overwhelming defeat, hastened Greeley's death.

During the war the construction of a transcontinental railroad had been authorised by Congress. This was the Union Pacific, which was built westward from Omaha, Nebraska. Immense sums were voted, ostensibly as loans, but as these were secured only by a second mortgage they were a subsidy rather than an investment. In addition immense grants of lands were made both to the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, another line begun almost at the same time. Both were completed in 1869.

Besides these two lines the Northern Pacific received a charter with 40,000,000 acres of land in 1864, but work was not begun until 1870. Completion of this road was long delayed. The Atlantic and Pacific, with some changes, became the Santa Fé system, while the Southern Pacific finally reached the Gulf of Mexico. One more, the sixth transcontinental line, was constructed later, the Great Northern. All of these roads were constructed in advance of population and drew population after them, as they pushed on into districts inhabited chiefly by hostile Indians. The construction gangs often dropped their picks and

**The
Alabama
Claims**

**The
Elections
of 1872**

**The
Pacific
Railroads**

**The Case
of the
Virginius**

shovels to take up their rifles. The effect of the construction was marvellous. On one day there would be nothing except two lines of rails across the prairie; the next a town site would be laid out; shacks sprang up in a day, to be succeeded later by more substantial buildings. Farms would be taken up, and there was a village, soon perhaps to be a town, with churches, schools, and public buildings, supplying the wants of the agricultural population.

Out of the construction of these railroads grew the political scandal known as the Credit Mobilier. This was a corporation organised to construct

The Pacific Scandal's the Union Pacific. In 1867, Oakes Ames, the ruling spirit, sold to several members of Congress, at par, shares in the concern on which they received in about a year dividends amounting in some cases to more than three times the purchase price. Several members were censured and some political careers were ruined by the exposure.

This rapid construction of railways and the resulting speculation was partly responsible for the great panic of 1873, which soon seized the country.

The Panic of 1873 The rebound from the depression of the War led to a period of rapid expansion of agriculture and industry. It was a period much like that during Jackson's administration and the result was similar. The first blow was the failure of the house of Jay Cooke and Company, which had made a great reputation by its successful marketing of United States bonds during the War. This firm now came to grief in the attempt to finance the Northern Pacific. Its failure, September 18, 1873, was followed by many other failures, by suspension of banks, and failure of mercantile and manufacturing establishments. Just about this time also the Russian wheat-fields began to be available for Europe, and the price for export wheat from the United States fell with startling rapidity. The Western farmers, who were in debt for improvements on their farms, were in despair.

The "hard times" thus extended over the whole country, and continued for several years. The commercial classes, as forty years before, attributed the depres-

sion to the inflation of the currency. Specie payments had been suspended during the War and had never been resumed. During all this time gold was at a premium, which, however, had been falling with the expansion of business. In the face of the demands of the West, which wished further expansion of the currency, the Resumption Act was passed in January, 1875, providing that the Secretary of the Treasury should accumulate \$100,000,000 in gold, and that on January 1, 1879, specie payments should be resumed. We may anticipate by saying that the transition was accomplished without difficulty. When people found that they could get gold on demand, they no longer desired it.

The Credit Mobilier was not the only scandal of the period. Though personally entirely honest, President Grant was a poor judge of human nature, and fell under the influence of men who used his reputation and popularity as a cloak for their designs. When his confidence was once given, he could with great difficulty be convinced of the wrongdoing of his friends, and resented any effort to change his opinion. His private secretary, O. E. Babcock, who had shared in the profits of the "Whiskey Ring," which within six years had cheated the government of more than two and a half million dollars, was acquitted through the influence of the President, who voluntarily became a witness in his behalf. His Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, was proved to have shared in the profits of a store on an Indian reservation, and would have been impeached but for his resignation, which the President "accepted with great regret."

In 1876 the first of the great expositions in the United States was held in Philadelphia. The leading foreign countries were well represented, and the educational and artistic value can not be estimated. To thousands from almost every state the visit to "The Centennial" was a landmark of their lives. Travel was not so easy then as now, methods of illustration were either expensive or crude, and the era of the magazine and the illustrated weekly had not come. The

The Centennial Exposition

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

visit to the exposition gave the American people an opportunity to see with their own eyes many wonders of which they had heard only vague and unsatisfactory accounts, and its commemoration of the first century since the Declaration of Independence did much to reawaken patriotism.

Though some of his closest friends began to talk of a third term, and the President himself did not appear entirely averse, the idea was unpopular and the House of Representatives passed a resolution by a vote of 234 to 18, expressing the conviction that to depart from the custom so long recognised, would be unwise and unpatriotic. The strongest candidate before the Republican convention at Cincinnati was James G. Blaine, of Maine, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives. The other candidates combined against him, and Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio, was named for President, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic convention chose Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, who had won a national reputation by his prosecution of the "Tweed Ring" and by his exposure of the canal frauds in New York State. For Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was named.

The Democrats determined to make the campaign upon the frauds and scandals of the Republican administration, but the Republicans "waved the bloody shirt," as the practice of dwelling upon the issues of War and Reconstruction was called. The campaign was exciting and doubtful. The election showed 184 votes for Tilden, 165 for Hayes, and 20 claimed by both. One of these was a vote from Oregon, where Hayes had an undoubted majority, but where the eligibility of one of the electors was questioned. The remaining nineteen were the votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, the three Southern states still under negro and carpetbag government.

There had been fraud on both sides and intimidation also in these states, and two sets of electors, both claiming to be rightfully elected, met and sent the results of their action to Congress. The

Constitution provided no method for settling such a dispute, and the outlook was grave. It was feared that civil war might follow, and the Republican Senate and the Democratic House were not able to agree upon any plan. Finally, however, Congress, late in January, less than six weeks before inauguration day, finally passed the "Electoral Count Act," creating an Electoral Commission to be composed of five Senators, five members of the House of Representatives and five justices of the Supreme Court. To this body all disputed returns were to be referred.

The Commission was unable to put aside partisanship and by a vote of eight to seven decided every important question in favour of Hayes, who was declared to have received 185 votes to 184 cast for Tilden. The latter had received a large majority on the popular vote. The Commission, however, had decided the matter and the Democrats peaceably acquiesced. One reason for this action was that it was believed that Hayes would reverse the policy of Grant and refuse to support the carpetbag governments by Federal bayonets.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born at Delaware, Ohio, was graduated from Kenyon College and from Harvard University Law School. At the outbreak of the War he was elected captain of a company, and became, by successive promotions, major-general of volunteers. His record was creditable, but not distinguished. He had served two terms in the national House of Representatives, and when elected President, was Governor of Ohio for the third time. A conscientious man, of considerable courage and will power, he was handicapped by the cloud upon his title, by the politicians of his own party, and by the fact that the Democrats held the House of Representatives during his entire term, and the Senate also during the second half.

On one point he met expectations. After investigation he became convinced that the carpetbag governments of South Carolina, and Louisiana as well, could not exist unless supported by Federal troops, and second, that they did not deserve to

**Hayes is
Declared
Elected**

**The
Nineteenth
President**

**The
Presidential
Campaign**



A SHOP IN THE NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE AT HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

Instead of attempting to train negroes for the professions, this institution strives to fit them for the positions for which there is a demand. There are classes in various trades, in business, and in agriculture. The girls receive instruction in housekeeping, cooking, dairying, gardening and nursing. Those students who cannot afford to pay the moderate expenses of the course, work for wages in the shops and receive instruction at night. The school has been very successful and similar institutions have been established in other states. One, the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, under the direction of a graduate of Hampton, Booker T. Washington, is perhaps better known than the parent institution.

exist. In each state two men claimed to be the rightfully elected governor. The troops were ordered withdrawn, much to the disgust of the radicals. Almost immediately the Republican Governors of both South Carolina and Louisiana bowed to the inevitable and the whites assumed control. Reconstruction was over.

Failure of the Congressional plan might have been foreseen. The attempt to place a race, undeveloped, ignorant, just freed from slavery, over their former masters could not succeed. It did not succeed in giving permanent power

to the Republican party, and its evils exist to this day. The South would have forgotten the War, but the attempt to humiliate and degrade the whites only drew them together into the Solid South, a fact which has been unfortunate for the section and for the nation.

Professor Burgess says: "Slavery was a great wrong, and secession was an error, and a terrible blunder, but Reconstruction was a punishment so far in excess of the crime, that it extinguished every sense of culpability upon the part of those whom it was sought to convict and convert."





The sky-line of New York, showing the height of some of its wonderful buildings

THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED NATION

THE MARVELLOUS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY

THE great War and the "war amendments" to the Constitution settled the question of the relative importance of the Union and the States, which had been a vital issue for seventy-five years. By force of arms it was decided that a state could not secede; that the whole is greater than any of its parts. From the War the national government emerged immeasurably strengthened, and this superiority has been increased during the half-century since the War ended. The government undertakes without opposition—almost by common consent—functions and activities which would have been considered beyond its powers by the Fathers. One can now say with propriety the "United States is" instead of the "United States are."

During the War the industrial development of the Northern states was marvellous, and when peace came the rapidity of this development was redoubled. The opening of the West by the construction of railroads, and by the Homestead Act, which gave 160 acres of land to any one who would live on it for five years, moved the centre of population away from the East. These farmers in the West were consumers of goods, which the Eastern manufacturers, favoured by high tariffs, made every effort to supply.

The problems of government became chiefly economic and industrial and have remained so. Our economic system began to grow more complex as the great industrial establishments grew in size, and began to combine. A close association between business and politics developed during the War and the alliance still remains firm. The discussion of constitutional questions no longer absorbed the attention of Congress and the country. Great moral issues were not discussed in the nation as a whole. All of these tendencies were beginning to manifest themselves during the administration of President Hayes.

Of actual accomplishment there was little during his administration. A strong faction of the Republicans calling themselves "Stalwarts" manifested opposition to the conciliatory policy of the new President toward the South, and to his desire to purge the governmental machine of the scandals which clung around it. These men sneered at him as a Puritan, and called him and his followers "Half-breeds." Naturally little constructive legislation could be enacted against the combined opposition of this faction of his own party and the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

The President vetoed the Bland-Allison Act, pledging the government to pur-

**Changing
Emphasis
in Politics**

**The Union
and the
States**

**Industrial Devel-
opment of the
North and West**

chase silver to the value of at least \$24,-000,000 a year, which was to be coined into dollars, but Congress passed the Act over his veto. The attempt to force the further issue of irredeemable paper money was frustrated; a commercial treaty was negotiated with China, and also provision was made for reducing Chinese immigration; and specie payments were resumed without a ripple.

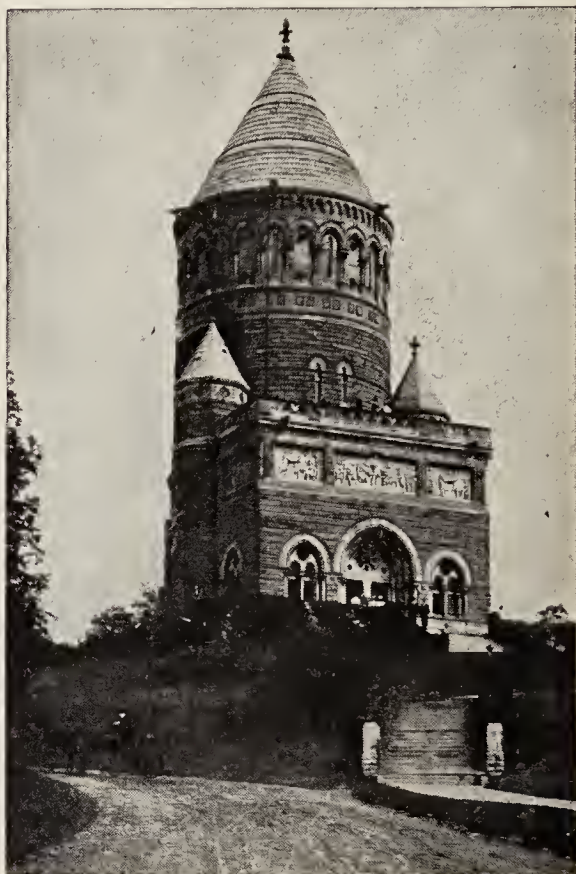
President Hayes did not seek a re-nomination, which he could not, in any case, have obtained. Meanwhile ex-President Grant had been on a trip around the world, and had everywhere been received with respect and honour.

Full accounts had been sent to the United States, and Americans were proud that one of their citizens had met with such a distinguished reception. His friends were all the while working for a third nomination to the Presidency. In the Republican convention he had a larger number of votes upon the first ballot than any other candidate, but gained little additional strength. Finally the opposition combined upon James A. Garfield, Senator-elect from Ohio, a "Half-breed." Chester A. Arthur, of New York, a "Stalwart," was named for Vice-President to placate that faction. The Democrats named a war hero, General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The general prosperity of the country was satisfactory, and there was comparatively little interest in the campaign. The Republican candidates received 214 electoral votes to 155 cast for their opponents.

James Abram Garfield, the twentieth President, was born in 1831, and was left fatherless two years later. In the rude conditions of frontier life he worked on the farm, attending the short sessions of the district school, and for a time drove the team which pulled a boat on the Ohio Canal. Determined to obtain an education, he worked his way at various institutions of learning and was finally graduated at Williams College in 1856. He then taught in a small college in Ohio, and

became its president, meanwhile studying law. He was elected to the Ohio Senate, but soon entered the War as lieutenant-colonel, and within a little more than two years had reached the rank of major-general.

While in the army he was elected to the House of Representatives and took



THE GARFIELD MONUMENT AT CLEVELAND. President Garfield's brave fight for life after he was shot created so much sympathy, that it was an easy matter to raise funds to build a monument to his memory at his home in Cleveland, Ohio.

his seat in December, 1863. Almost immediately he became prominent. He was nine times elected to the House, and then elected to the Senate, but was inaugurated as President on the same day on which he would have taken his seat. His speeches during his long service in Congress were clear and readable, and were widely circulated. In 1877 he had been one of the two members of the House of Representatives on the Electoral Commission which decided the disputed Presidential election of 1876.

The "Stalwarts" resented some of Garfield's appointments to his Cabinet, especially that of James G. Blaine as Secretary of State, and resentment

flamed into open war when the President selected for an important office in New York, one Robertson, a political enemy of Senator Roscoe Conkling.

Factional War Breaks Out

Failing to defeat confirmation by the Senate, Conkling and the junior Senator, Thomas C. Platt, resigned and sought re-election from the New York legislature as an endorsement of their course. The legislature, however, tired of the quarrel which seemed to be disrupting the party, chose other men. Further trouble was created by the exposure of frauds in the contracts for carrying the mails by which some officials had profited.

While all these incidents were being discussed the country was horrified to learn that the President had been shot while in the railway station in Washington, July 2, 1881, by Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker. The President was removed to the New Jersey coast, and lay between life and death until September 19, exhibiting great patience and fortitude. During these long weeks political quarrels were forgotten, and it is not too much to say that the suffering and death of the President saved his party from disaster. Guiteau was tried for his murder, and though probably insane, was found guilty and hanged.

Chester Alan Arthur, the twenty-first President and the fourth "accidental President," was born in Vermont in 1830, and was graduated from Union College in 1848. After teaching for a

few years he began the practice of law in New York City. During the War, he was quartermaster-general of the state, and made a reputation for efficiency. Though a successful lawyer he was better known as a politician, and was appointed to the most important office in New York, that of Collector of the Port, by President Grant. His nomination for Vice-President was intended to placate the friends of Grant, and the more independent element was much disturbed by the accession of one who was generally thought to be a politician and spoilsman.

The independents and the country at large were agreeably surprised by the dignity, firmness and intelligence with

which the new President met the difficult questions which came up. He supported the Civil Service laws, appointed a commission to revise the tariff, promoted Indian education, supported the policy of strengthening the navy, and was particularly interested in the plans for improving and controlling the course of the Mississippi River. A Civil Service Commission to conduct examinations for appointments to minor places in the government service was established.

This administration saw one of the greatest periods of prosperity the country had ever known. Industry expanded,

and agriculture was profitable. The number of immigrants was the largest ever known. Even the

South, which had seemed benumbed from the efforts of War and Reconstruction, showed signs of abounding life, and began to develop manufacturing establishments. This was made evident by the New Orleans Exposition, held in 1884. The surplus revenue of the government was so large that it proved embarrassing, and the tariff bill of 1883 did not reduce governmental revenue to the neighbourhood of expenditures. Democratic Congressmen of protectionist leanings joining with the Republicans prevented any considerable reduction of the duties.

As the elections of 1884 approached it was evident that President Arthur would have strong opposition. The lead-

ing candidate for the Republican nomination was the brilliant James G. Blaine, former Senator from Maine, and Secretary of State under President Garfield, though there were several other "favourite sons."

Blaine received the largest number of votes on the first ballot, and was nominated on the fourth, with General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President. It will be seen that both parties had, as usual, nominated the head of the ticket from one section while the second place had fallen to another.

The bitter campaign was devoted almost entirely to the personalities of the

Unusual Prosperity of the Country

The Candidates in 1884

Another Accidental President

candidates. The connection of Blaine with some suspicious transactions in railway securities, while Speaker of the House of Representatives, lost many thousand votes. On the other hand Cleveland's private character was attacked, and the story of some early irregularities was spread broadcast. The election showed that the distrust of Blaine could not be overcome. Many Republicans of prominence openly supported the Democratic candidate. An unfortunate reference by an admirer of Blaine to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" probably lost the vote of New York State and thus decided the election. Cleveland received 219 electoral votes to 182 cast for Blaine. After twenty-four years out of power the Democrats had elected a President.

Stephen Grover Cleveland was born in 1837 in Caldwell, New Jersey, where his father, a Presbyterian minister, had a charge, but the family soon removed to western New York. The boy was forced to support himself after his father's death, but succeeded in studying law and began to practise at Buffalo. He served as Assistant District Attorney, Sheriff of Erie County and Mayor of Buffalo, winning a reputation as a fearless official not to be swayed by personal or political influences. In 1892 he was elected Governor of New York by the immense majority of 192,000. In the governor's chair, he displayed the same qualities of determination and fearlessness which had hitherto marked his career. Deliberate, almost slow, in making up his mind, he was tenacious in his opinions and willing to act upon them.

Cleveland came to Washington a new man. He had had absolutely no legislative experience, and little experience in public life of any kind. From the first he showed that he intended to be President himself, though he surrounded himself with a strong Cabinet, in which the South had large representation. A considerable share of diplomatic and consular appointments also went to that section; and the South for the first time since Buchanan had influence in the councils of the nation.

Though a horde of hungry office-seekers swarmed upon Washington, the new President announced his devotion to the cause of Civil Service Reform. While many removals were made for partisan reasons, the classified service was untouched and even extended. Naturally the hostility of many political workers was gained through the President's refusal to yield to their demands.

During the summer of 1885, the condition of General Grant created a great wave of sympathy throughout the country. On his return to the United States, after his trip around the world, he bought a house in New York and invested all his savings in a banking house, to which, however, he gave no personal attention. His weakness in judging character was again made manifest when, in 1884, it was found that two of his partners were swindlers. General Grant was left penniless by the failure of the firm. His success in writing some of his war experiences for the *Century Magazine* encouraged him to begin his *Personal Memoirs*. Though suffering from cancer of the throat, which caused his death, July 23, 1885, he kept bravely and steadily at his task and finished the manuscript only four days before his death. It is pleasing to know that the profits of the book made his family financially independent. The body of the great soldier was placed in a temporary tomb in New York City, until the completion of the magnificent structure in which it now rests.

The Vice-President died during 1885, and this fact led to the passage of the "Presidential Succession Bill." The

Constitution gave to Congress power to specify the officer upon whom the government would fall in the case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President, and the President of the Senate had been named by the law of 1791. Since he might belong to the party opposed to the administration and therefore by his accession change the complexion of affairs, the new Act provided that the right of succession should descend through the Cabinet officers in the order of the creation of their departments.

In 1887, also, Congress created the

GROWTH OF THE UNITED NATION

first of the great governmental commissions now so much a matter of course.

The Interstate Commerce Commission

This was done by the Interstate Commerce Act. The railroads of the country had been guilty of great favouritism. Rates were often unjust and discriminatory. Some shippers secured lower rates than others or were granted large rebates. Much of the early success of the Standard Oil Company was due to rebates secured from the railroads. The alliance between the great corporations and the railroads was becoming notorious. Some towns paid much higher rates than others further away from the shipping point. Railroad officials fixed rates plainly intended to build up one town at the expense of others. Since a large part of the mileage of the country, particularly in the West, had been built with public money, this injustice was deeply resented and for years the states had been attempting to prevent the evil by drastic laws. The new Commission had no power to fix rates, but did have the right to make full investigations. Since the first Act, the powers of the Commission have been much increased, and to-day it is one of the most important agencies of governmental control in the country.

Much opposition was manifested to its creation. Only slowly did the idea of the nature of a public service corporation take possession of the minds of the people. The owners and managers of the

The Public Service Corporation

railroads could see no reason why their business should be subjected to regulation. In their eyes and in those of a great number of other citizens the railroad business was like a shop. No one at that time questioned the right of a man to sell his goods at any price he pleased, or to sell cheaper to one man than to another. The railroad men felt that they had exactly the same rights and resented the attempt to bring them under governmental supervision.

The fact that a railroad is, in the nature of things, a monopoly, and therefore necessarily subject to regulation in the public interest, was slow to seize hold upon the consciousness of the public. It is difficult to realise at the present time, when the right of the government over

public service corporations is almost unchallenged, that there was a time when a gas company was held to have the right to sell its product to one and to refuse it to another arbitrarily. So the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission



THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

This colossal bronze statue stands on Bedloe's Island in New York harbour. It was designed by the French sculptor, Bartholdi, and presented to the United States by the people of France, as a memorial of the good-feeling of the nation.

was denounced as a dangerous attack upon corporate rights by the transportation interests.

The establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission was due, how-

The "Granger Laws" in the West

ever, not so much to any clear comprehension of economic principles as to a feeling of oppression, which was strongest in the Middle West. There this attitude towards the railways was crystallised in the "Granger Laws"

passed in the different states at the instigation of the Grange, an organisation of farmers which wielded great power in the seventies and early eighties. Since these state laws had proved ineffective, recourse was had to the powers of the national government.

The discontent with the existing order was not confined to the farmers. Labour organisations began to develop to an extent heretofore unknown. One of them, the Knights of Labour, had for its aim the enrollment of every worker. Important strikes followed the organisation of such associations. Many of these were fomented by foreigners, whom the liberality of the immigration laws had admitted to this country. Finding their dreams of picking gold from the streets unrealised, their minds became fertile soil for the prophets of anarchy. In Chicago, May 4, 1886, a riot occurred in Haymarket Square, in which a number of policemen were killed by bombs. Some of the rioters were executed and others were imprisoned, but the incident was a great shock to the great mass of law-abiding people of the country, who had supposed that such occurrences could never take place in the United States.

The revenue of the nation greatly exceeded its expenditures and the President as well as many other thoughtful men, felt that financial disaster was sure to come on account of locking up such large sums. Therefore, in his message to Congress in December, 1887, he devoted his whole attention to the tariff, recommending a radical reduction. He pointed out the growing surplus, declared the existing tariff act to be "vicious, illegal and inequitable," and demanded that the people be relieved from exorbitant taxes. As the Senate was Republican nothing was done, and the President lost the support of the manufacturing interests in his own party.

He had already lost the sympathy of the "old soldier" element by his attempt to protect the treasury from what he considered to be extravagantly liberal pension legislation. The effect of such a course upon his popularity was pointed out to him, but when he had made up his mind to the rightfulness of a measure he could not be moved.

In spite of the opposition of the protected interests in his party, his position was so strong that he was renominated by acclamation in 1888.

Cleveland is Renominated in 1888 Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was nominated for the second place. Appearances

pointed to a second nomination of James G. Blaine as the Republican candidate, but he refused to allow his name to go before the convention, and Benjamin Harrison, United States Senator from Indiana, was named with Levi P. Morton, of New York, for Vice-President.

The election was fought almost entirely on the tariff. Cleveland was denounced as a free-trader who would destroy the prosperity of the country, and the old soldier vote was also organised against him. In New York the result was doubtful. Cleveland had antagonised Tammany Hall, the Democratic organisation in New York City; the friends of Samuel J. Tilden thought that he had not shown him sufficient deference; some of the Mugwumps were disappointed at some of the President's appointments; David B. Hill, the Democratic candidate for governor, was not a Cleveland man, and it was directly charged that some of his supporters had bargained to vote for Harrison, in return for votes for Hill. All of these things taken together changed enough votes to give the state to Harrison. The vote of New York was decisive, as it had been four years before. If Cleveland had carried the state he would have been elected.

Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President, was born in Ohio in 1833, and was the grandson of William Henry

Benjamin Harrison Becomes President Harrison, the ninth President. He had been graduated from Miami

University in 1852, had been admitted to the bar in 1854, and removed to Indiana. He was active in recruiting the 70th Indiana Volunteers and became its colonel. After effective service he was made brigadier-general by brevet. After the War he returned to the law but took a deep interest in politics. He had served one term in the United States Senate, where he took a prominent position.

President Harrison was a great lawyer with a gift for lucid exposition, and his

speeches were marked by clear thinking and felicity of expression, but he failed in personal relationships. His reserve was so great that it passed for haughtiness or austerity, and as President he was not at all popular with his party. He made few mistakes however in his judgment of men, and his appointments were unusually good. The Cabinet, headed by James G. Blaine as Secretary of State, was very strong.

Since the campaign had been fought chiefly on the question of the tariff, the policy of reducing the revenue by raising the tax on all goods which could be manufactured in the United States, and admitting free those which could not, seemed to be the guiding principle. The bill was presented by the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, William McKinley, and bore his name. One clause, added in deference to Secretary Blaine, who was bent on securing the trade of South America, gave the President power to impose duties on articles on the free list if he believed that the country producing them was discriminating against the United States.

A liberal pension policy was adopted, and the Commissioner of Pensions constantly sought new classes to whom pensions might be granted. An act was passed giving a pension to every soldier who had served ninety days, and was unable to earn a support, regardless of the relation of his disability to his service. During Harrison's term many thousand names were added to the roll — some of them undeserving — and the annual expense increased from \$89,000,000 a year to \$159,000,000. The direct taxes collected from the states during the War were refunded in order to lessen the surplus.

The "new Northwest" beyond the Mississippi had been receiving many settlers, and in 1889 Dakota Territory was admitted to the Union as the States of North and South Dakota. Montana and Washington came in the same year, and the next year Idaho and Wyoming were also added to the Union. An unbroken tier of states now stretched to the Pacific. The government also purchased from the

Indians a considerable part of Indian Territory and organised the Territory of Oklahoma. In order to avoid favouritism, all settlers were kept out until the day appointed for opening. Thousands encamped on the border and when the word was given made a grand rush to pre-empt desirable land. Cities were laid out at once and within a few months had paved streets, electric lights, banks, churches and schools.

Much commotion was created by the action of the new Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas B. Reed, who counted members present but not voting in order to make a quorum, and refused to put to the House motions which seemed plainly intended to cause delay. Speaker Reed was bitterly denounced as a tyrant, but the House had grown to be so large that something of the sort was plainly necessary in order to expedite business.

In the early years of the century silver had been undervalued with respect to gold in the coinage, and had not circulated. In 1873 the silver dollar had been dropped from the list of coins. Then came the opening of many new silver mines in the West which poured forth a flood of the metal. Naturally the price fell and the miners looked for a market for their product. Next came the Bland-Allison Act, requiring the purchase of silver to the value of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 a month to be coined. Meanwhile other mines had been discovered, the amount of silver produced continued to increase, and the price correspondingly dropped, until the value of the silver in a dollar was less than eighty cents. In the West a demand for increased use of silver as money arose, as the mine owners contended that increased coinage would raise the price until it stood at the coinage ratio, which was sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold.

In 1885, a free coinage bill almost passed the House, and in 1890 the "Silver Senators," as those from the states producing silver were called, refused to vote for the McKinley Tariff Bill until their demands were met. A compromise, called from its author, the Sherman Act, provided that the government must buy

4,500,000 ounces of silver every month, on which treasury notes should be issued. The wishes of the silver men were met for the time, but we shall soon see increasing demands.

Several incidents of importance occurred in the foreign relations of the United States. Some Italians suspected of being members of the Mafia were lynched by a mob in New Orleans in 1891. The government of Italy demanded reparation, which the United States could not give, as the matter was entirely under state control. The Italian Minister withdrew from Washington but matters were finally smoothed over. The same year an assault upon United States sailors in Valparaíso, Chile, almost led to a clash with that country.

The extravagance of the administration, and the excessive protection of the McKinley Act, caused almost a crisis in the finances of the government. Harrison's coldness had alienated many of his supporters, and yet to repudiate him would be to repudiate the record of the party. He was therefore renominated, though Blaine resigned the office of Secretary of State a few days before the convention and made an ineffective bid for the nomination. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was the candidate for Vice-President.

The leading politicians of the Democratic party disliked Cleveland, and his own State of New York sent a delegation instructed for David B. Hill. The people of the country had confidence in the former President, however, and in spite of all efforts he was nominated on the first ballot. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, was named for Vice-President.

Meanwhile for several years the feeling that the agricultural States were not fairly treated had been growing among the farmers generally, and in the West and with it the further conviction that neither party was friendly to silver. The Farmers' Alliance, which spread over the United States, did much to foster this feeling. In 1891 a great gathering met and organised the People's Party (usually called the Populist Party). The delegates demanded the free coinage of silver, the abolition of

national banks, an income tax, governmental ownership of railroads, steamship, telegraphs and telephones, and the election of United States Senators by the people. In 1892 they nominated James B. Weaver for President.

Early in the campaign it was seen that Cleveland was likely to be elected, and November confirmed the prophecy. He received 277 votes, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22, gained entirely from the Republicans. The people elected Cleveland because they believed in his integrity and his firmness. At the same time the Democrats had a clear majority in both houses of Congress. For the first time since Buchanan they controlled both legislative and executive branches of the government.

Before the end of Harrison's administration there were unmistakable signs of financial depression. By custom the treasury was expected to contain at least \$100,000,000 in gold as a pledge for the redemption of notes. In the Sherman Act it had been provided that the notes issued to pay for silver should be redeemed in either gold or silver at the option of the government. Since gold was the standard of the world, the treasury officials thought themselves compelled to pay gold when demanded in order to keep these notes at par. Since additional notes were constantly issued to pay for the monthly purchases of silver bullion, and notes which had been redeemed in gold were again paid out by the treasury in the regular course of business, evidently the process of drawing gold from the treasury could be repeated indefinitely.

The great increase in the volume of this currency had caused uneasiness, since the gold basis was narrow. Hardly had Cleveland been inaugurated when the "Panic of 1893" was on the country. Banks suspended, manufacturing enterprises closed, and everywhere there was economic distress. President Cleveland felt that the safety of the country depended upon the maintenance of the gold reserve and under a forgotten law intended to serve another purpose, sold bonds to keep up the reserve. He was also able to force the repeal of the

**Friction
with Italy
and Chile**

**Financial
Depression
Arrives**

**The Growth
of the Farmers'
Alliance**

**The Panic
of 1893
Comes**

Sherman Act through an extra session of Congress called for the purpose. As a result he lost his popularity in the South and West.

This unpopularity was increased by his action in the great Chicago railroad strike of 1894. Beginning in the Pullman Palace Car works, it spread to the railway employees, who refused to work on trains hauling Pullman cars. They were forbidden by a Federal judge to interfere with trains carrying the United States mail, but defied the injunction, wrecked and burned the trains, and looted the freight cars. President Cleveland ordered out United States troops to protect the mail trains, without the request of the Governor of Illinois and, in fact, against his wish. The troops were forced to fire upon the strikers. The strike collapsed but the bitterness remained.

At the first regular session of Congress in December, 1893, the Democratic tariff bill, known as the Wilson Bill, was presented. It made considerable reductions on many articles and levied an income tax to compensate for the loss of revenue. The Bill easily passed the House but was so changed and distorted in the Senate that the President refused to approve but allowed it to become a law without his signature. The Act did not produce sufficient revenue, and the income tax feature was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court by a vote of five to four, though such a tax had been previously levied. This decision led to an agitation to secure an amendment to the Constitution specifically giving Congress the right to levy such a tax. Twenty years later (1913) a sufficient number of states had ratified the amendment and it became a part of the Constitution.

Foreign affairs became increasingly important during this administration. During the previous administration, discontented residents of the Hawaiian Islands, chiefly white, had deposed Queen Liliuokalani and asked for annexation to the United States.

Cleveland Refuses the Hawaiian Islands Pending the ratification of the treaty by the Senate a sort of American protectorate had been established.

President Cleveland, after investigation, decided that the revolution had succeeded through the active efforts of the American Minister, and by the aid of United States marines. He abandoned the protectorate and expressed regret to the Queen, who was, however, unable to regain her throne. In 1898, on the outbreak of the Spanish War, the islands were annexed to the United States. Two years later a territorial form of government was established.

For years the line between Venezuela and British Guiana had been in dispute, and Venezuela had asked the good offices of the United States to induce Great Britain to submit the matter to arbitration.

The Venezuela Arbitration This Great Britain was unwilling to do. After some correspondence with the British Foreign Office, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress December 17, 1895, with the correspondence in the case, and recommended the appointment of a commission to determine the correct line; implying that when decided, the United States would enforce the decision. Congress enthusiastically agreed, but before the commission had finished its work, Great Britain had yielded to the request of Venezuela and a joint board of arbitration had been appointed. The President's interpretation and assertion of the Monroe Doctrine was criticised in some quarters but undoubtedly it did much to increase the prestige of the United States.

During the summer of 1893, the Columbian Exposition, in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, was held in Chicago. The immensity of the plans had made necessary the postponement for a year beyond the proper date. The buildings and grounds presented a magnificent appearance, and the exhibits were worthy of the setting. In spite of the panic, the total number of admissions was 27,000,000, three times as many as at Philadelphia.

The Chicago Exposition of 1893 The Democrats had lost the House of Representatives in 1894 and many of the members of the party elected were out of harmony with the President. Naturally there was little constructive legislation during the latter half of the administra-

tion. Preparations for the election of 1896 were being made, and it was evident that the radical free silver wing of the Democratic party would control the convention. The Republican convention was held first. For months Marcus A. Hanna, a wealthy Ohio manufacturer, had been working to secure the nomination of William McKinley, using the same methods and zeal with which he would seek to secure a business contract. He was successful and McKinley was nominated on the first ballot, with Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. The platform declared for the policy of protection, and not so clearly for the gold standard. The secession of a number of Western delegates followed.

At the Democratic convention in Chicago, the old leaders were thrust aside and new men took control. It was made

New Men plain that no Eastern
Take the man would be accept-
Democratic Party able; and finally the
convention, carried off
its feet by the speech of a young man of
thirty-six, William Jennings Bryan, of
Nebraska, nominated him for President.
Arthur Sewall, a rich Maine shipbuilder,
was named for Vice-President. The
platform demanded the free and unlim-
ited coinage of silver at the ratio of six-
teen to one, attacked the Supreme Court,
and refused to endorse the administra-
tion of President Cleveland.

The "Silver Republicans" held a convention and endorsed Bryan and Sewall. The Populists endorsed Bryan but nominated Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President. The "Gold Democrats" nominated John M. Palmer, a Union veteran of Illinois, for President, and Simon B. Buckner, a Confederate veteran of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The Prohibition party split on the silver question and placed two tickets in the field. There was also a Socialist ticket.

The Republicans had intended to make the campaign on the issues of hard times and the tariff, but the Democratic Con-
The Issues vention had repudiated its own
of the administration, and Mr. Bryan
Campaign forced the issue of free silver
to the front. Heretofore
Presidential candidates had not made

active canvasses, though Garfield had made some speeches, but Mr. Bryan spoke many times in different states appealing to the farmer, the workingman, and the small business man to rise against the "money power" concentrated in Wall Street.

The Act dropping the silver dollar from the list of coins, which passed unnoticed at the time, was denounced as the "Crime of 1873," from which had come all the woes of the country. Special appeals were made to the debtor class. It was pointed out that a debt of a thousand dollars, say, made years before, represented, perhaps, a thousand bushels of wheat, or less than twenty bales of cotton. To pay that debt with produce at the prices then prevailing, would require nearly twice as much, and the low prices were attributed to the gold standard.

The people were told that the United States was rich enough and strong enough to maintain silver at a parity with gold regardless of the action of the rest of the world; that if the United States opened its mints to silver, the price would at once rise, since the silver miner would not take less
International for his silver than the coin-
Bimetallism age value. The Gold Demo-
is Discussed crats and the Republicans
were willing to admit that an increase in the circulating medium was desirable, and the latter discussed "international bimetalism," or the coinage of silver by agreement among the nations of the world. They declared that if the United States alone adopted free coinage the silver of the world would be dumped into the country, gold would disappear, the securities of the United States could not find a market, and the country would be forced to the silver standard with the less advanced nations.

The election showed new sectional divisions. Mr. Bryan carried the states in which frontier conditions still prevailed, including some of the newer Western states which had been thought to be solidly Republican. He lost New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, which Cleveland had carried in 1892, and the gain of the sparsely settled Western states with their few electoral votes,

GROWTH OF THE UNITED NATION

could not compensate for the loss of these more populous commonwealths. The electoral vote was 271 for McKinley and 176 for Bryan. Both houses of Congress had Republican majorities. It seemed that the country had definitely repudiated "free silver."

William McKinley, the twenty-fourth president (counting Cleveland only once), was born in Ohio in 1843. While attending Allegheny College, he volunteered as a private soldier in 1861, and reached the rank of

**William McKin-
ley Becomes
President**

conventional President many new questions on which there were no precedents to guide his action.

An extra session of Congress was at once called to revise the tariff and the Dingley Bill was soon passed. Its provisions were a compromise between those of the existing tariff act and those of the earlier McKinley tariff. With additional internal revenue taxes on beer and some other articles it provided sufficient revenue and was almost untouched for twelve years.

Other legislation was postponed be-



THE RESTING-PLACE OF PRESIDENT GRANT IN RIVERSIDE PARK, NEW YORK

President Grant's tomb is one of the most magnificent structures of the kind erected in modern times. It was begun in 1892, and completed in 1897, when the President's body, which had been reposing in a temporary structure, was removed to its final resting-place. The structure was erected by voluntary contributions and about 60,000 persons shared in the expense. It is visited by thousands yearly.

major. After the war he studied law and began the practice at Canton, Ohio. From 1877 to 1891 he was a member of the House of Representatives (though once unseated), and was elected Governor of Ohio in 1891 and again in 1893. As chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives he had presented the tariff bill of 1890 which bears his name.

President McKinley was a man of charming personality, disposed to gain his ends by tact rather than by force. He was a good party man, inclined to bow to the expression of the collective will expressed in the party platforms, in striking contrast to Cleveland, who had not hesitated to defy the party leaders. The irony of fate presented to this kindly,

cause of the trouble with Spain, which now came to a head. For many years the question of Cuban annexation to the United States, or of Cuban independence, had been discussed, and after 1868 the island was in a chronic state of revolt. Spanish promises to grant self-government were not kept, and in

**Sympathy
with Cuba
Manifested**

1895 rebellion flamed out. Harsh measures were taken to suppress the revolt and much sympathy with the insurgents was manifested in the United States. President Cleveland had manifested strict neutrality, and had stopped many filibustering expeditions, but American sentiment for intervention grew. President McKinley attempted to follow the same course, but the Spanish party on the island was so

hostile to the United States that it was deemed best to send a ship-of-war to Havana to protect, if necessary, American interests and American citizens. The *Maine* arrived at Havana January 25, 1898, and February 15, was blown up at her anchorage with great loss of life.

Investigation seemed to show that the explosion was external, though the Spanish authorities claimed that it was internal. When the ship was raised several years afterward, the report of the American investigators was confirmed. The responsibility has not been fixed to this day. Several theories have been advanced: one, that the mine was fired by order; second, that the mine, though placed in the harbour by Spanish officials, was fired without orders; and third, that the insurgents, anxious to involve the United States in war with Spain, blew up the ship.

Though Spain at the last moment made great concessions, American sentiment was too much aroused, and on April 19, 1898, Congress passed four resolutions authorising intervention by force, and pledging the withdrawal of United States authority from the island when independence was gained. Europe did not believe that this promise would be kept and all the leading nations except Great Britain were unfriendly.

The course of the war, including the capture of Manila, the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago, the capture of Santiago and the occupation of Porto Rico, is told at length in other chapters (pp. 6336-43) and need not be repeated here. It is enough to say that the American Navy had proved its worth; that the personnel of the American forces, regular and volunteer, had been shown to be excellent, though the equipment was poor; and that the organisation of the War Department had broken down. The glory won by the Navy was dimmed by a quarrel between Admirals Sampson and Schley regarding the credit for the victory off Santiago.

Peace gave to the United States a great extension of territory, including the Philippines, Porto Rico and Guam; the oversight of Cuba; and an entirely

new set of problems. Heretofore the energies of the people had been confined to North America. The makers of the Constitution never contemplated the possession of foreign territory, inhabited by people to whom American citizenship could hardly be extended, which therefore must be ruled by force.

Expansion and "imperialism" were bitterly opposed by many of the best citizens and clearest thinkers of the country, but public sentiment generally approved taking the territory. The revolt of the Filipinos postponed a final decision until after the capture of Aguinaldo. Then the pacification of the islands was necessary. The final policy in regard to the acquired territory has not been decided, and Congress has gone on meeting the problems as they arise.

The country had recovered from the financial and industrial depression, and during the second Congress of McKinley's administration legislation was enacted putting the country specifically upon a gold basis. At the same time the establishment of national banks with smaller capital was authorised. Meanwhile the increasing production of gold in South Africa, and the discoveries in the Klondike region in Canada and in Alaska had largely increased the supply of that metal. There seemed no longer any probability of a gold famine.

As the conventions of 1900 approached it was evident that McKinley would have no opposition for the Republican nomination. For Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of New York, though unwilling, was named through the agency of Senator Platt, who had returned to power in New York after his resignation in 1881. The platform was an endorsement of the administration. The Democratic convention again nominated William J. Bryan. Adlai E. Stevenson, who had been Vice-President during Cleveland's second term, was again named for his former office. The platform, while affirming faith in free coinage of silver, laid most stress upon opposition to the policy of territorial expansion, and to trusts. McKinley and Roosevelt received 292 electoral votes to 155 cast for Bryan and Stevenson.

**The Destruction
of the
Maine**

**The Question
of Impe-
rialism**

**The Results
of the War
with Spain**

**The
Elections
of 1900**

During the summer of 1900, the so-called Boxer rebellion in China threatened the lives of foreign residents, and the United States joined the leading nations of Europe, and Japan also, to quell the uprising. For more than a century the United States had confined its energies to the American continent. Now within a short space it had taken land on the other side of the globe and was joining in military movements on foreign territory with Europe and Asia.

Other events of importance were the expulsion from Congress of Brigham H. Roberts on the charge of polygamy; the terrible storm which almost destroyed the city of Galveston, Texas, in 1900; and the taking of the census of 1900. This enumeration showed a total population of 76,303,387 people, and the other schedules indicated marvellous gains in wealth and industrial power since the census of 1890.

During 1901, a Pan-American Exposition to celebrate the progress of the American republics was held in the city of Buffalo, New York.

The Assassination of the President While holding a reception in one of the buildings, September 6, President McKinley was shot and mortally wounded by a half-crazed anarchist, Leon Czolgosz. A week later, he died, the third President to fall a victim to the assassin within less than forty years, a record not equalled by the most despotic countries of the Old World.

Theodore Roosevelt, who became the twenty-fifth President, was born in New York City in 1858. He was graduated at Harvard in 1880, had been a member of the New York legislature and a delegate to the Republican convention of 1884, where he opposed the nomination of James G. Blaine. After spending two years on a ranch in North Dakota, he was appointed to the National Civil Service Commission and soon became chairman. He magnified his office and did much to increase the importance of the position. Next he was president of the Police Commission in New York City, where he created a veritable upheaval, arousing many antagonisms, but increasing the efficiency of the force. As Assistant Secretary of the

Navy he stirred the department, and the excellent showing of that branch of the service during the Spanish War was in some degree due to his efforts.

At the outbreak of the contest he helped to organise a regiment of "Rough Riders," composed largely of Western cowboys and Eastern college athletes. His friend, Dr. Leonard Wood, an army surgeon, was appointed colonel, while he became lieutenant-colonel. A part of this force engaged in the operations around Santiago, where Colonel Roosevelt gained much prominence. On his return to New York in the autumn he was elected Governor of New York, and in 1900, Vice-President.

No figure in American public life has occupied so large a place in the public eye. Impetuous and impulsive, and yet a gifted leader of men, he has known how to turn to advantage not only the mistakes of his opponents, but even his own. Abrupt and opinionated, and seldom conciliatory in the expression of his opinions, he nevertheless gained a popularity such as has been enjoyed by few men in our history. Few men have known so well how to formulate the beliefs and the longings of the average man, and to hold up ideals which seem at the same time attractive and attainable. A positive genius for the pithy, sententious phrase, striking and easily remembered, has also been a great asset. At the same time he is a man of wide reading, with the command of a great mass of information.

In his first message he made many important recommendations, many of which were adopted by Congress. Among them were the creation of a Department of Commerce and Labour — later to be divided; the strengthening of the Interstate Commerce Act; the establishment of forest reserves; the increase of the navy; and the irrigation of arid lands at government expense.

President Roosevelt seized every opportunity to travel through the country to speak to the people, endeavouring to create public sentiment in support of his projects, and received an immense amount of publicity. He did not hesitate to discard precedent,

The President Not Bound by Precedent

when he deemed it to the public advantage. For example, when a serious strike of the anthracite coal miners threatened to tie up industry and cause great suffering, he called together the representatives of the miners and the coal operators and practically forced them to submit their differences to arbitration.

The irrigation of arid lands undertaken during his administration has brought into cultivation thousands of acres of excellent land which were almost worthless without water. The fund for this work was established by turning the proceeds from the sale of public lands in sixteen Western states into a special irrigation fund. Public lands bearing timber or minerals were withdrawn from sale and the policy of "conservation of the national resources" was expounded.

There had been discussion of a canal across the narrow isthmus joining North and South America from early times. In

The Question of an Isthmian Canal

1848 a right of way across the Isthmus of Panama was secured from New Granada (now Colombia) on favourable terms, and the Panama Railroad was built soon after. The attempt was also made to get the right to build a canal across Nicaragua, but the way was blocked by England. By the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) it was agreed that the two nations should jointly guarantee the neutrality of the canal.

Meanwhile the great French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, had successfully completed the Suez Canal, and French ambition turned toward Panama. A concession was secured, a company

The Failure of the French Company

formed, and work was begun in 1883. The original estimate of \$120,000,000 was found inadequate and in 1889 the company became bankrupt. The work done had been done well, but at an extravagant cost both of life and money. Obligations to the extent of \$475,000,000 had been issued, though only about \$278,000,000 in cash had been realised. Of this sum less than half had been expended for actual construction. The remainder had gone to pay interest and salaries and to influence officials, newspapers, and important per-

sonages. The new company which took over the undertaking estimated that at least \$180,000,000 more would be required to complete the work, and this sum could not be raised. The Company, hoping against hope, secured an extension of time but could raise no more money.

In the United States it was felt that national interests demanded an American canal, and some effort was made to create sentiment in favour of the Nicaragua route, but little progress was made. With the conclusion of the Spanish War the interests of the United States in the Pacific had increased so greatly, that the question became one of route, for a canal must be built. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was replaced in 1901 by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which permitted the United States to construct the Canal alone. The discussion between the partisans of the Nicaragua route and those who advocated Panama became acrimonious. A commission of eminent engineers appointed to examine and decide between the routes recommended Nicaragua, but, when the French company offered to sell all its holdings including the uncompleted work, the machinery and buildings for \$40,000,000, the report was modified to favour the Panama route.

Congress authorised the purchase of the French holdings, and the negotiation of a treaty with Colombia granting a right of way for the Canal. The Hay-Herran Treaty provided for the lease of a canal zone, six miles wide, for ninety-nine years, with privilege of renewal, in return for payment of \$10,000,000 cash, and \$250,000 annually. This treaty was rejected by Colombia. To many Americans it seemed evident that the Colombians were hoping to delay action until the final extension granted to the French company should expire, in 1904. In that case the work done would be forfeited and Colombia might hope to exact a higher price.

In Panama — then a part of the United States of Colombia — these proceedings aroused much indignation. The state had few connections with the federal authority at Bogota, and felt that a golden opportunity was being allowed to slip. A revolutionary committee was

GROWTH OF THE UNITED NATION

organised, and after it had been learned that the administration at Washington would not be displeased if a revolution should take place, proceeded with its plans. On November 2, 1903, the American gunboat *Nashville* arrived at Colon. The next day some Colombian troops also arrived, but their leaders were taken prisoners by the junta, and when the soldiers threatened to seize the Pan-

neers, was appointed by cable Minister to the United States. On November 18, a treaty was signed, practically the same as that offered to Colombia, except that the zone was widened to ten miles, and certain additional privileges in the terminal cities of Panama and Colon were granted.

One of the greatest obstacles the French had encountered was yellow



THE PURCHASE OF THE PANAMA CANAL BY THE UNITED STATES

The French company which had attempted to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Panama came to the end of its resources after an expenditure of more than \$275,000,000, and was glad to offer the uncompleted work, and all its assets, to the United States for a small proportion of the cost. This picture shows the signing of the warrant for \$40,000,000, the amount paid by the United States.

ama Railroad, United States marines were landed to protect communications, guaranteed by the United States.

Other American vessels had by this time arrived, and notice was given that troops would not be allowed to land. As

The Revolution in Panama

communication between Panama and the other states of Colombia was almost impossible by land, this amounted to active aid to the revolutionists. On November 4, the Republic of Panama was organised; two days later the United States recognised the new republic; and the same day Philippe Bunau-Varilla, who had been one of De Lesseps' engi-

fever, but since the discovery during the Spanish War that the mosquito is the only carrier of the disease, the problem was simplified. At once war was declared against the mosquito on the Zone and in Colon and Panama, the seaports at the ends of the proposed canal. Provisions for an adequate supply of pure water was made, houses for the employees were erected, and hospitals were built. As a result the Zone became safe. The work of creating favourable conditions was entrusted to Dr. W. C. Gorgas, now Surgeon-General of the United States Army.

After some discussion regarding the

merits of a sea-level or a lock canal, the latter was decided upon as it could be built more quickly. The Army Engineers Placed in Charge Canal Commission was not harmonious, however, and there was some trouble in securing competent engineers who would remain. The civilian chairmen, who were railroad men, had created an excellent scheme of organisation, but President Roosevelt, tiring of change, determined to put men in charge who could not so easily resign. Therefore the construction was entrusted to army engineers, with Colonel George W. Goethals, as Chief Engineer. To him and to Colonel W. C. Gorgas, the sanitary officer, much credit is due for the final successful completion of the work.

To tell of the immensity of the task, the problems to be decided, and the difficulties encountered and overcome would require a book. It is enough to say that the task was completed months before the final limit officially fixed. Where the Canal is cut through Culebra Hill slides, which have temporarily blocked the passage of vessels, have occurred several times since the Canal was opened. The engineers say that these may be expected for some time until the banks have reached a state of equilibrium.

Another extension of the Monroe Doctrine was the appointment, in 1904, by President Roosevelt of what practically amounted to a receiver for the bankrupt republic of Santo Domingo. This official receives the customs revenues, and applies a part of them to the reduction of the foreign debt. Eleven years later practically the same thing was done in the case of the republic of Haiti, occupying the other part of the island.

Though President Roosevelt's aggressive attitude toward corporate power excited some opposition in his party, public sentiment was so strongly in his favour that he was renominated without opposition in 1904. Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-President. The Democrats were hopeless of success, and the Eastern leaders, long without influence, were allowed to name Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, for President, and Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, for Vice-President. The

election was an overwhelming triumph for President Roosevelt. He received 336 electoral votes to 140 cast for Judge Parker and a majority of more than two and a half million in the popular vote.

During his second term he became more aggressive in his warfare upon "malefactors of great wealth." The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission were enlarged; suits were instituted against several "combinations in restraint of trade;" a pure food and drug law was enacted, the consular service was placed upon a civil service basis and additional measures for conservation and irrigation were pressed. Incidentally, through his efforts Russia and Japan, then engaged in a bloody war, were brought to an agreement by the Treaty of Portsmouth (August, 1905). For his services in the cause of peace the President received the Nobel Prize the next year.

President Roosevelt might have been renominated, had he so desired, but preferred to name his successor. William H. Taft, Secretary of War, was nominated, with James S. Sherman, of New York, for Vice-President. For the third time, William J. Bryan was the Democratic nominee, with John W. Kern, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The campaign was perfunctory. Imperialism and free silver were dead issues, and Roosevelt's attitude toward the great corporations had taken the wind from the sails of his opponents. Taft and Sherman received 321 electoral votes to 162 for their opponents.

William H. Taft, the twenty-seventh President, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1857. He was graduated at Yale University in 1878, studied law, and in 1881 became assistant prosecuting attorney of his county. From that time his life has largely been devoted to public service. He resigned from the United States Circuit Court to become President of the Philippine Commission, was the first Civil Governor of the islands, and negotiated with the Pope for the purchase of the friars' lands in the islands. In 1904 he became Secretary of War, and continued in office until 1908. Dur-

Army Engineers
Placed
in Charge

Some Things
Accomplished by
the President

A Receiver
for Santo
Domingo

The
Elections
of 1908

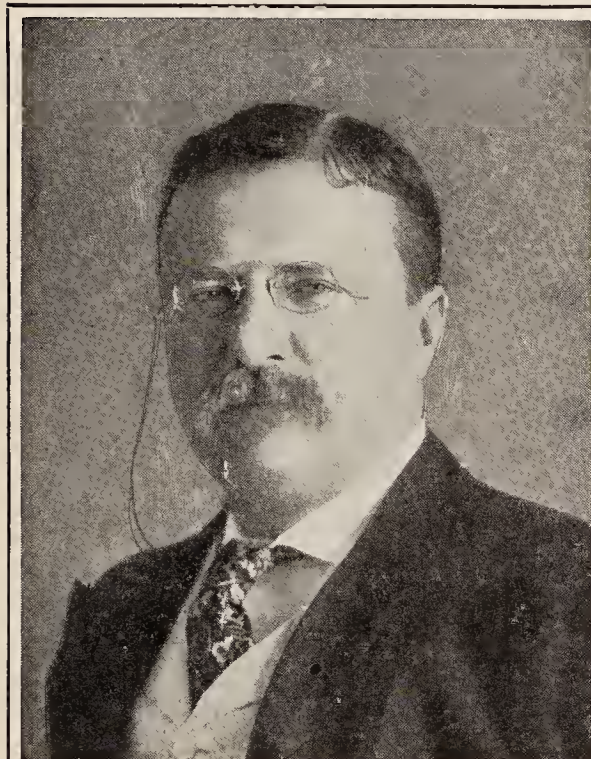
William H.
Taft Becomes
President

GROWTH OF THE UNITED NATION

ing this time he served for a short time as Governor of Cuba during American intervention. Since his retirement from the Presidency he has been Kent Professor of Law at Yale University.

Though President Taft had been looked upon as a disciple of Roosevelt, he was more conciliatory in disposition, and attempted to heal the breach in the

Some of the Western Republicans urged President Taft to veto the bill, but without avail, and a little later in a speech he praised it, calling it the best tariff act ever passed. The insurgents, or "progressives," as those members who favoured a lower tariff and more attention to social legislation were beginning to call themselves, were much incensed.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND HIS SUCCESSOR, WILLIAM H. TAFT

Theodore Roosevelt, the Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidency of the United States at the death of President McKinley on September 14th, 1901, and was re-elected by an overwhelming majority in 1904, this time defeating the Democratic candidate, Alton B. Parker. His term of office was marked by a number of reforms, notable among which was his vigorous opposition to trust methods. His successor, W. H. Taft, played a conspicuous part in the administration of the great republic after the period of the Spanish War.

party, which was beginning to assume decided proportions. At the same time the fear of being called inconsistent led him to maintain any position he had taken — an act of which his predecessor was not guilty. In his attempt to conciliate the factions, he failed to gain their regard and, in fact, only drove them farther apart.

Congress was called in extra session to consider the tariff. The bill, as it passed the House under the leadership of Sereno E. Payne, made decided reductions, but these were for the most part restored in the Senate through the agency of Senator Nelson B. Aldrich. Some duties were increased.

This division in the Republican party continued to increase.

The President's tendency to stand by his friends was shown by his support of the Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, who was attacked by Gifford Pinchot, the head of the Bureau of Forestry, on the ground that he had improperly favoured certain interests in Alaska and that he had improperly restored to sale lands which had been withdrawn. Pinchot, who was one of Roosevelt's closest friends, was forced to resign, as the President sustained his Secretary, but public sentiment soon forced the retirement of Mr. Ballinger also.

The rising power of the insurgents aided the Democrats to break the auto-

cratic power which the Speakers of the House of Representatives had gained. The power to appoint the Committee on Rules, which governs the daily work of the House, was taken from him, and the next House took away the power to appoint the committees also. This power had been one of the Speaker's greatest weapons, as through committee appointments he could reward or punish.

Meanwhile ex-President Roosevelt after his retirement from office went to Africa, where he spent a year hunting big game and collecting specimens for the Smithsonian Institution. On his return he took an active part in politics in New York State, though his candidate was defeated by the people. In other states it was evident that his influence was still strong.

The elections of 1910 showed that the people distrusted the Republican party. A Democratic majority was chosen to the House of Representatives and the Republican majority in the Senate was much reduced. Thenceforth the position of the President was even more difficult. The Democratic House, however, enabled the President to pass a measure for reciprocity with Canada by which each party would lower or remove the duties on certain articles produced by the other. It was finally passed, but, much to the humiliation of the President, was rejected by Canada.

During the latter half of his administration the President steadily lost influence and popularity. Though he was not particularly popular with the conservative wing of the party, the progressives claimed that he had deserted them, and plans to bring about the renomination of Roosevelt were matured. Early in 1912 a request to become a candidate was issued by progressive members of Congress, and he, feeling that Taft had failed in his trust, accepted. In the convention 254 seats were contested and nearly all were awarded to Taft by the committee, on which conservatives predominated. The convention sustained the committee as generally conservatives had been placed on the temporary roll. The followers of Roosevelt withdrew

from the convention and Taft and Sherman were renominated by the delegates who remained.

In the Democratic convention there was a warm contest. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representa-



PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

Was born in Virginia in 1856, and at the time of his election was Governor of New Jersey. He was previously President of Princeton University.

tives, Judson Harmon, and O. W. Underwood, all had strong support. A new man in politics, Woodrow Wilson, who had become Governor of New Jersey after more than twenty-five years spent as a teacher and college professor, showed surprising strength. Finally on the forty-sixth ballot he was nominated, with Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for Vice-President.

A national convention of the Roosevelt forces was held in Chicago in August, and the name "National Progressive Party" was chosen. Roosevelt was nominated for President and Hiram Johnson, Governor of California, for Vice-President. The campaign was bitter and exciting. Roosevelt denounced his old friend and sub-

Woodrow Wilson Nominated

The Birth of the Progressive Party

ordinate in unmeasured terms. The split in the Republican party made the election of Wilson a certainty. He received 435 votes, Roosevelt 88, and Taft 8, though Roosevelt and Taft together had a majority of the popular vote. The latter carried only the states of Utah and Vermont. The Democrats secured control of both Senate and House.

Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth President, was born in 1856, at Staunton, Virginia, where his father, a Presbyterian minister, was pastor. After his graduation from Princeton he studied law, but soon turned to scholarship and teaching. In 1890 he returned to Princeton as professor, and became president of the University in 1900. Some of his books on politics and government were widely read. In 1910 he resigned to become Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey. He was elected and won a reputation more than state-wide by his ability in dealing with the difficult political situation in that state.

The new President showed unsuspected ability in managing men. Under the skilful leadership of Oscar W. Underwood, a tariff bill was passed without scandal, and without mutilation by the Senate. The Federal Reserve Bill, intended to mobilise the financial resources of the country, was passed, though the President suffered a defeat on his Ship Purchase Bill. The construction of a railroad in Alaska, at the expense of the government, was authorised and work was soon begun. President Wilson revived the old custom of delivering his message to Congress in person. Washington and Adams had done this, but Jefferson, who was a poor speaker, communicated in writing, and his example had been followed by subsequent presidents.

Meanwhile President Madero, of Mexico, had been deposed and assassinated. President Wilson refused to recognise General Victoriano Huerta, who soon took control, since he was one of the men responsible for Madero's death. An insult to the American flag April 9, 1914, was followed by the occupation of Vera Cruz by United States marines and sailors. The opposition to General Huerta was divided, but, in 1915, a conference of representatives of American republics

recognised General Venustiano Carranza, who seemed to be the strongest force in the unhappy country.

General Carranza, however, seemed unable to check bandit outrages. On March 9, 1916, Francisco Villa, a former general of Carranza who had quarrelled with his chief, attacked a small body of United States cavalry at Columbus, New Mexico. He was pursued into Mexico, but General Carranza objected to the presence of American troops and declared himself able to take care of the disturbances. His boast was soon proved untrue and during the summer a large part of the army and 60,000 men of the National Guard of the United States were stationed on the border. War seemed inevitable, but General Carranza became milder in his tone, and was also able to extend his authority in Mexico. The troops were finally withdrawn from Mexico but the border guard was continued.

The Panama Canal was opened for traffic in August, 1914, though much work remained to be done. In celebration of the event, the Panama-Pacific Exposition was held at San Francisco during 1915. The landscape architecture, the decorations and the lighting effects surpassed anything previously achieved. European exhibits were, naturally, reduced in number and importance, but the Americas were well represented.

Other events of President Wilson's first administration were the ratification of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators; increased representation of the native element in the government of the Philippine Islands; the establishment of a Federal Trade Commission, and the enactment of the Clayton-Anti-Trust Act.

The midterm elections showed a reduced Democratic majority in Congress. It was evident that many Progressives had returned to the Republican party. Before progress had been made in carrying out the remainder of the administration programme the many questions arising from the great cataclysm in Europe absorbed the chief energies of the President and his advisers.

As the most important neutral power the position of the United States was

exceedingly difficult. The British block-
 The United States and the European War
 ading vessels in the North Sea and the English Channel prevented German ships from reaching the United States, while allowing free passage to vessels of the Allies. An immense trade in munitions of war, food stuffs, and supplies of various sorts sprang up, and the exports of the country reached a point never before known. The British policy of checking abnormal exports to neutral countries, suspected of furnishing supplies to the Central Powers, caused considerable friction, and several sharp notes were sent to the British Government.

While undoubtedly a majority of the people of the United States sympathised with the Entente Allies, those who favoured the Central Powers were numerous, especially in those sections where a large proportion of the population was German-born or of German descent. Vigorous efforts to prevent the export of munitions were made but Congress refused to consider an embargo.

The loss of American lives on passenger ships such as the *Lusitania*, *Ancona*, *Persia* and the *Susser*, which were
 The President and the Submarine Question
 sunk without warning by German or Austrian submarines, finally led President

Wilson to threaten to break off diplomatic relations unless the methods of submarine warfare were changed. Both the Austrian and German Governments finally gave assurances that the lives of passengers on merchant ships, which did not offer resistance or attempt to escape when hailed, would not be imperiled.

Congress was not idle. The European War overwhelmed the advocates of a small army and navy and the appropriations for both were immensely increased. An Army Reorganisation Bill provided for a great increase of the army and an ambitious programme of naval construction was adopted. A Federal Child Labour Bill debarring from interstate commerce manufactured articles into which the labour of children had entered was passed, as was also the Ship Purchase Bill, which had been defeated in the previous Congress. A system of Rural Credits was established and appropriations were made

for Federal aid to good roads. A larger measure of self-government was granted to the Filipinos, and to the Porto Ricans.

A treaty giving the United States charge of the custom houses in Haiti, somewhat similar to the arrangements with Santo Domingo, was ratified by the Senate. United States ships and marines were required to preserve order in both countries. Another treaty, agreeing to pay \$25,000,000 for the Danish West Indies, consisting of the three small islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, was also ratified by the Senate in 1916, and the actual transfer of territory occurred early in 1917. The chief value of the islands is as a naval base.

President Wilson had no opposition for re-nomination. Republican candidates were numerous, and a strong faction advocated the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, as a means of uniting the party. Sentiment, however, crystallised around Charles E. Hughes, of the Supreme Court, formerly Governor of New York, and he was nominated on the first ballot. President Wilson was re-elected, receiving 277 electoral votes to 254 for Hughes, though the closeness of the vote in New Hampshire, California, and Minnesota made the result doubtful.

In January, 1917, the German Government notified the United States that unrestricted submarine warfare would be resumed on February 1, 1917. President Wilson at once severed diplomatic relations and warned the German Empire that an overt act would lead to war. The act was committed by destruction of American ships with loss of life, and Congress met in extra session April 1. On April 6, Congress voted that a state of war existed, and actual preparations began. The enlarged army and navy were recruited to full strength, and the entire National Guard was called into service. An act providing for a selective draft from the male population between 21 and 31 was passed, and nearly 700,000 men from it were in training before the end of the year. A part of the navy was at once sent to European waters, and American troops took their places in the firing line in France in October. Two loans, one for \$2,000,000,000 in June, and another for \$3,000,000,000, in November, were largely over-subscribed.



THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

FOREIGNERS WHO COME TO LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES

IN 1910, the census showed that 13,515,886 persons then living in the United States had been born outside the limits of the country. The native born of foreign parents were 12,916,311 more. These two classes amounted then

to 26,432,197, or 28.7 per cent of the total population. When to this stupendous number is added 5,981,526 more with one parent foreign, we have the total of 32,413,723 closely related to Europe. The total population of the United States proper was 91,972,266. The number of the third generation, those whose grandparents were born in Europe, is not tabulated by the census but is very large; just how large no one can say. Our laws permit the alien to become a citizen after a brief residence and slight examination, and these immigrants come from many lands, in many stages of political and social development.

In one sense all Americans are immigrants, or descended from immigrants, but when George Washington became President of the United States, the population had received few accessions from abroad for a hundred years. New

England received very few immigrants between 1645 and the Revolution; Maryland grew chiefly by natural increase after 1660, and the same may be said of Virginia. The Carolinas, except for the wave of Scotch-Irish and German migration in the first half of the eighteenth century, grew chiefly from within or from Virginia, after the first settlements. New York, though polyglot from early times, was chiefly populated by the descendants

of the early Dutch and English settlers. The chief element in the population of Pennsylvania and New Jersey was descended from those who had come from the British Isles.

The different elements in the population of the colonies were mentioned at some length in an earlier chapter, but with the exception of the German, the non-English-speaking elements were small. The French Huguenots and the Swiss were quickly assimilated. The Highland Scots spoke Gaelic, but except in a few localities, they soon were absorbed into the general population. The Germans in Pennsylvania, and to a less extent in the overflow which pushed into the South, settled in communities and preserved for a long time the dialect, not yet extinct, known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." But taken together, the population of the United States at the beginning of Washington's administration was overwhelmingly English-speaking, and still more overwhelmingly Protestant in religion.

They or their ancestors had come for various reasons, partly economic, partly social, and largely religious. The early settlers had undergone many hardships on the journey. The voyage lasted for weeks, sometimes months, and many perished on the journey. It was not uncommon for a ship to lose half of its passengers between Europe and America. The weaker perished on the way.

Of those that survived, the hardships of frontier life took heavy toll. Only the strong could survive the test to which they were put, but these thrived. It is

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**The
Population
in 1789**

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**The Colonists
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**Reasons
for Early
Immigration**

The voyage lasted for weeks, sometimes months, and many perished on the journey. It was not uncommon for a ship to lose half of its passengers between Europe and America. The weaker perished on the way.

not too much to say that the people of the United States in 1789 were a picked population, superior in strength and stamina to any in the world at the time.

Through the comparative similarity of conditions of life in the new country — though there was of course a difference

The United States without Immigration between life on the sea-coast and upon the frontier — and through the struggle with England, for political independence, a certain degree of homogeneity had been reached, and if there had been no further immigration the country would have been filled with the descendants of these people. The result would have been a Protestant state of stronger fibre than the original immigrants themselves. Natural selection had improved the stock, physically at least, and they would have worked out the problems of one of the most interesting experiments in nation-building in history.

The fecundity of these people was amazing. Early marriage was the rule and families were large. Immigration

Rapid Increase of Population between 1790 and 1830 was almost negligible, probably something more than 300,000 in forty years. Yet during this

period the population of the United States grew from 3,929,000 to 12,866,000, a percentage of increase never before known. In this 12,866,000, of course, must be counted a small number of African slaves, brought in, and the immigrants who came. In other words, with little immigration the population increased more than three and a quarter times in forty years. If the same rate had been kept up, the population, without additions from abroad, would have been 135,000,000 in 1910 instead of 91,972,000, which the census of that year showed; which number, as we have shown, included over thirteen million of foreign birth, and nearly thirteen more of foreign parentage.

Of course it is improbable that the rate of increase would have kept up, though it showed little sign of faltering during the first half of the century.

The Probable Population of the Country It was an abnormal rate, depending upon the conditions of life in a new country and especially upon the great amount

of land which could be had almost for the asking. With the disappearance of the free land, and of frontier conditions, the rate would naturally have been lower. Then, too, the increase was lessened by the Civil War. But the statement so often made that the population and the prosperity of the United States has been dependent upon immigration is manifestly untrue. The population of the United States, in all probability, would have been as large as it is to-day, without many of the problems which immigration has brought, if not a single foreigner had arrived after 1789. The present rate of increase including the immigrants is less than the rate without a century ago.

To what is due the slower rate of increase? Generally speaking, to the disappearance of the free land and to the

Why the Increase is Slower fact that the immigrant, as a rule, has taken the place of the lowest paid labourer. Those displaced by his coming sought

to find a foothold in another occupation, probably higher in the social or economic scale. Their competition in this rank meant a comparative decline in wages in these occupations, or else less secure tenure of positions. Those who had occupied the positions thus threatened sought to go still higher. Increasing preparation was necessary, and children became a greater expense. The inevitable result was postponement of marriage, or failure to marry altogether. Naturally fewer children could be born, leaving out of the question intentional limitation of the size of families. The process has been continued in spite of the increasing diversification of occupation open in the United States, and the older American stock produces fewer and fewer children.

This economic pressure has been complicated by social considerations. In early days the native American dug the

Effect of Immigration Upon Native Labour ditches, built the roads, cut the timber, dug in mines, did, in short, all of the laborious and most

unpleasant manual tasks. When the immigrant came and took over these occupations, the native American drew apart, and was filled with a desperate desire to prevent his children from falling back

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

into the associations from which he had escaped. Certain occupations came to be regarded as unfit for the native-born, and every effort was made to place the children in another occupation which would not be subject to these associations. Some of this feeling was snob-bishness, perhaps, but more was a half-unconscious, but none the less real, attempt to preserve American standards, political, economic, and social. The men who felt this impelling desire could not perhaps have put their feeling into definite words, but the underlying reason was present.

Not only is this true, but the older immigration has felt the same influence. Beginning with large families in the first

**Similar Effects
Upon the
Immigrant** generation, the second has felt the economic and social pressure of the later immigration, and its rate

of increase has grown less. As one student has put it: "Each wave sterilises the preceding." So we find that the children of immigrants have smaller families than their parents, and their children average still fewer children to the family.

Immigration into the United States began to be noticeable about 1827. In that year the total number was 18,875.

**The Course
of
Immigration** It jumped the next year to 27,382, then fell back until 1832. Between 1820 and 1830, the total number, as has been said, was only 143,439, about 14,000 a year. Between 1830 and 1840 the number varied, rising on the whole, however. Between 1830 and 1840, nearly 600,000 entered the country and the hundred-thousand mark was passed in 1842. Between 1840 and 1850 over 1,700,000 came in, and between 1850 and 1860, the decade before the war, the number was nearly 2,600,000. During the decade including the war, the number was somewhat lessened, but still it was over 2,300,000. Between 1870 and 1880, in spite of the hard times following the panic of 1873, the number increased to more than 2,800,000. Between 1880 and 1890, this enormous figure was almost doubled, the total reaching almost 5,250,000.

The hard times following the panic of 1893, which stopped new construction in industries, and caused paralysis in many

lines of productive enterprises, reduced the total for the decade between 1890 and 1900, but it was still nearly 3,700,000. The high water mark was reached in the first decade of the new century (1900-1910), when the figures reached the total of 8,795,386, a population larger than that of any state in the Union except New York, and greater than that of many states of Europe. The Great European War not only reduced the number coming over, but called back for military service many thousands already here, and the net immigration for the year ending June, 1915, was barely 50,000.

This immigration has varied not only in volume but in source. The different nations of Europe sometimes simultaneously, but usually in turn, have swelled the flood.

**Sources
of the
Immigration** Some nations which once furnished a great stream now send only a tiny rivulet; others, almost unrepresented in the first half of the last century, now send the great stream of immigrants. Europe is no longer alone. Asia has sent and is sending many thousands. Central America and the West Indies send many, and British North America has sent, and is sending, great numbers. Let us examine the main streams in the order in which they became important.

Naturally the immigrants do not come from those classes or families which were happy and successful at home.

**The Classes
which
Emigrate** Such individuals have little reason for migrating. Of course a few such, impelled by a love of adventure or a desire for change, do come, but they do not affect the total to any considerable extent. Three classes have furnished the great mass of immigration. The first is made up of those fleeing from religious or political persecution; the second is composed of the poor and discontented who have failed in their own country; and the third of those who come because they can do better from an economic standpoint. Since communication and travel have become so easy, good times in the United States are followed almost immediately by an increase of immigration. On the other hand, news of hard times produces a decrease.

The first considerable immigration was of the Celtic Irish. The first comers were generally farmers and labourers, strong and vigorous specimens of the race. The women entered domestic service or went into the mills. The men carried the hod or worked upon the railroads and canals which were being built so freely after 1830. In somewhat less numbers they found their way to the farms. Sometimes an Irishman, engaged in construction work, dropped out of the ranks and bought a piece of land, and became a farmer. In some parts of New England to-day, for example, one may find substantial citizens whose fathers or grandfathers worked with pick and shovel in constructing the railway near by. Thousands of the girls saved their money to bring out a sister or brother, or perhaps the old parents, and these in turn saved to bring out others. Catholics in religion, they generally settled in communities where a church and a priest were not too far away.

Later, during and after the "famine," Irish came in greater numbers and these, perhaps neither so strong nor so vigorous as the first comers, settled in the larger cities, and sought whatever work they could find. The men did much of the rough work in the building trades, became longshoremen, teamsters, conductors, and drivers on the horse-cars, cab drivers and porters. A few followed mechanical pursuits. Neither frugal nor far-sighted, their progress in the business world was not rapid, though here and there an Irishman came to own his team, then other teams, and became a contractor.

About 50,000 came before 1830. Between 1830 and 1840 the number rose to over 200,000. Between 1845 and 1850, there were 1,300,000 arrivals. The next ten years saw less than 400,000, but in 1865-75 there were over half a million. Then came a drop, then another rise between 1880 and 1890 to 650,000. Now the number ranges from 30,000 to 50,000 a year, but there are over 1,350,000 individuals of Irish birth in the United States. In all more than 4,250,000 have come.

The clan feeling in these people, their

concentration in certain districts, and their eagerness to become citizens soon created an "Irish vote," which became thoroughly organised in the course of time. Shrewd politicians directed this vote and the machine became a power. First the Irish took possession of the minor offices in the city governments. Their proportion in the police and fire departments became exceedingly large, and for that matter remains so to this day. As time went on more important offices were claimed until in many of our American cities the administration of the government has been almost entirely in the hands of the Irish.

Sons of these Irish immigrants studied law, often as an adjunct to politics, and some of the leading advocates at the American bar have been of Irish descent, and some excellent judges are also of Irish blood. A smaller number has been prominent in state or national politics. Other sons became physicians or surgeons, entered newspaper offices, or studied for the priesthood. The men of superior ability who are not members of professions generally occupy executive positions. There are many successful contractors of Irish birth, but few manufacturers or merchants. The daughters have become teachers in the public schools, taken positions in the shops, or sought employment as clerks or stenographers. Few of the generation born here enter domestic service. The stream of Irish immigration is now almost dried up.

In criminality, the Irish rank low. The proportion of Irish committing serious crimes, such as forgery, burglary, larceny, rape, or homicide, is small. Wife desertion is uncommon, and cruelty also. The greatest number of convictions of the Irish is for "offenses against public order," such as intoxication, vagrancy, or fighting.

The next great stream which entered American life was the German, which began to come in considerable numbers some years later than the Irish. The total, however, is larger, as about five and a quarter millions have arrived since 1825. There were in 1910 in the United States two and a half million

**The Irish
the First
to Come**

**The Irish
Rise
Rapidly**

**The Second
Irish Im-
migration**

**The
Germans
Come Next**

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

persons of German birth, the largest single element in the foreign-born population. Between 1830 and 1835, less than fifty thousand came. This number was more than doubled in the next five years, and remained constant for another five. With the political troubles which culminated in 1848, the current swelled between 1845 and 1850, to more than 325,000, and this great number was doubled during the next five years. During the next ten years, 1855 to 1865, which included the War, more than a half million came, and during the next ten more than a million arrived. The flood reached its height between 1880 and 1885. In this period the immigrants of German birth reached a million. Nearly a million more came during the next ten years. With 1895 there came an abrupt decrease. Between that year and 1910 the total is only half a million.

These wide fluctuations can be understood only by considering the economic and political history of both countries.

Reasons for the Wide Variation The immigration before the Civil War was due in some degree to religious reasons, but more largely to political causes. The reactionary policy of the rulers of the German states sent some of the best blood and brain of the race to America. Among the refugees of 1848 were university professors, journalists, and professional men of high attainments, who had risked all for liberty — men like Carl Schurz for example, who exercised great influence upon their compatriots. The panic of 1857 in the United States and the Civil War naturally reduced the number of those arriving. The panic of 1873 and the "hard times" which followed also stopped the stream for a time.

Meanwhile the population of the newly formed German Empire was increasing with alarming rapidity. The country

Germany Becomes a Manufacturing Country was still dependent upon agriculture, and there were more people than could be supported

by the land. This fact, together with the desire to escape military service, led to the swarming between 1880 and 1895. Hard times following the panic of 1893 checked the movement, and when easier times returned in the United States the

development of the new German manufacturing establishments and the increase of German trade had transformed that country from an agricultural into a manufacturing society. Germany began to receive immigrants instead of sending out her sons and daughters. At the present time German immigration into the United States is comparatively small.

The German-speaking immigrants are more widely distributed throughout the United States than any other, though by

Distribution of the German Population far the greater number is to be found in a few of the larger cities, as New York, Chicago, St. Louis,

Milwaukee and Cincinnati, and in the smaller cities and towns of the Middle West. About seven per cent is in the South, and a smaller proportion in the West across the Rockies. Many of the earlier immigrants took up farms in the West and were generally successful. The immigration before 1870 was, it is claimed, superior to that since. The political refugees and exiles exercised much influence, and, free from the tyranny of reactionary princes, a strong attempt was made to preserve German culture. Some even dreamed of a German State in the West.

Since 1870, the motives for migration have been almost entirely economic. Of this body one German-American student says: "Nine-tenths of all German immigrants come from humble circumstances." These people showed a disposition to become Americanised, and the German newspapers, the German theatre, and other attempts to preserve the language showed a great decline. The recent political upheaval in Europe, however, has revived among them the memories of the Fatherland, and an affection which had seemed to be dying or at least dormant. The final result can not be predicted at this time.

The early German immigrants possessed more capital and more industrial skill than the Irish who came at about the same time. A larger percentage

The Occupations of the Germans went to the farms, and a larger percentage to the skilled trades. The proportion engaged in domestic service was less than that of the Irish, but on the other hand a larger propor-

tion of the second generation followed this occupation. In other words the German did not rise so quickly.

Though only one male wage earner in nineteen is of German birth, three-fifths of all engaged in the brewing industry, one-third of the bakers and cabinet-makers, and a fifth of the saloon-keepers and butchers come from Germany. A large proportion of the hatters, tailors, upholsterers, engravers, and the like are of German birth or descent. Among them are many fine workmen capable of delicate manipulation, who take pride in turning out work of excellent quality. Generally they are to be found in the more sedentary occupations. They prefer to work indoors rather than out.

Many of the small establishments founded by early German immigrants have grown into great manufacturing plants. In many lines of industry the founders and the active managers of the leading houses bear German names. This growth in industry has been steady and sure, and has depended more largely upon the production of an article of merit than upon sensational advertising or speculation. In business they have also been successful, and can show many successful bankers and merchants.

The Germans have won success in the learned professions. Many American scholars bear German names and successful physicians of German birth or descent are many. The proportion entering the law is smaller than among the Irish. On the whole the success of the second generation is not so much greater than that of the first as is to be seen among some other immigrant groups.

In their social relations the Germans have influenced the older stock in several directions. The American of seventy-five or a hundred years ago, in his consumption of alcohol, drank raw spirits — rum, whiskey or brandy. The

German Influence upon America

Germans have taught the population to drink the lighter beers. At the same time the proportion of Germans who suffer from alcoholism is smaller than that of the native-Americans, the English or the Irish. They have done much to fur-

ther the production of good music. Their fondness for rational amusement has helped to weaken the old Puritan idea that amusement of any sort was essentially wrong or at least of doubtful propriety.

In criminality the German population has not departed far from the average of American life. According to the statistics of alien criminality calculated by Professor Ross, the German prisoners run a little above the average in their crimes of violence. In their leaning to other offenses, they come close to the mean. "Taken as a whole his criminal bent is very close to that of the native American."

Politically the Germans have been followers rather than leaders. The early Germans were carried almost in mass into the Republican party on account of their attitude toward slavery; and generally speaking, their descendants have remained in that party except in those sections where it has espoused the cause of prohibition. Then their devotion to personal liberty has been stronger than their allegiance to party. There are few German political bosses, since it has been impossible to deliver the "German vote" with certainty. Naturally they have held a much smaller proportion of political offices than the Irish, for example, but that proportion seems to be increasing. The result of the attempt to organise the German vote on the basis of former allegiance, rather than upon American issues, is yet in the future.

The next foreign element of importance is the Scandinavian, coming from Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Until after the Civil War immigration from these countries was unimportant. The total for twenty-five years through 1865 was only 56,200. During the next ten years (1870-1880) nearly 243,000 came, and between 1880 and 1890 more than 656,000 arrived. Between 1890 and 1900, including the hard times following the panic of 1893, the number fell to 372,000, only to rise again to more than 500,000 for the ten years ending with 1910. In that year there were more than 1,250,000 persons of Scandinavian birth in the United States,

The Scandinavian Element

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

comprising more than nine per cent of the immigrant population.

This population is largely concentrated in a few states in the North Central West. Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and the Dakotas all have a strong infusion of Scandinavian blood. The industrial states of New England, New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania also contain many Scandinavians, and some have crossed the Rockies. Very few live south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Those who have come to the New World were largely labourers and servants at home. There has been comparatively little emigration of the upper classes from Scandinavia. This is, however, the most literate population which comes to our shores. Only one in two hundred and fifty is illiterate. There is a decided difference among the occupations chosen by those coming. The Norwegians prefer the farms, though many are to be found in the mines, in the lumber camps, or in the building trades. Few choose indoor occupations. The Danes seek the farms in larger proportion and become expert dairymen or stockmen, though some are to be found in the various mechanical industries. The Swedes, coming from a country more developed industrially, go in smaller proportion to the farms, and are carpenters, miners, workers in stone, wood, or iron, or teamsters. All of these nations furnish many sailors.

The women engaged in gainful occupations, enter domestic service in large numbers, and the proportion actually increases among the Norwegians—that is, more women of the second generation undertake such employment than of the generation born abroad. This would seem to indicate that they do not so readily find places as clerks, teachers, stenographers and the like. This is in strong contrast with the Irish. The proportion of Irish girls of the second generation engaged in domestic service is less than one-third as great as the proportion in the first generation.

The progress of the Scandinavian immigrants has been marked, however. They soon learn English and do not resist

assimilation as do the Germans. They are eager to have their children educated, and many of them seek the higher education. Some of the foremost scholars of America are of Scandinavian blood. They are not markedly criminal. In fact their percentage in crime is smaller than the average. Some of the Scandinavians of the earlier immigration were inclined toward alcoholism, but the struggle to restrict the evil in their own countries has made the greater part of the newer immigration strong friends of temperance.

In the Swedes, particularly, there is a tendency toward melancholia, which sometimes ends in insanity or suicide.

On the other hand, no other element is more honest, or steadfast in meeting obligations. Though the fraternal spirit is not strong, there are many instances of co-operation among the Scandinavians of the West. They have had little political difficulty in their own country and on coming here have become a sane, cool-headed portion of the electorate—hard to inspire, perhaps, but weighing carefully both sides of every question placed before them.

The next group of the older immigration of importance is the English. They included in 1910, six and one-half per cent of the foreign-born population, in all 877,719 persons. This immigration has been steady and is on the whole representative. The larger part, perhaps, is composed of artisans, operatives in the textile industries, and miners, though there are farmers, labourers and business men among them. The proportion of the professional classes among the English-born is larger than in other groups.

Nearly all of them (98.9 per cent) can read. Accustomed to the same institutions and to similar laws, and speaking the language of the country, they create no political or social problems, but easily find their places in American life. Though many of them fail to seek naturalisation, their presence is in no sense a menace to the American institutions. Almost the same may be said of the Scotch, of whom there were in 1910, 261,076, composing 1.9 per cent of the

**Occupations
of the
Scandinavians**

**The Scandi-
navian in
Politics**

**The Scandina-
vian Women
in Industry**

immigrant population. Among them are some of our best citizens who came out to improve their financial situation. They are artisans, or business and professional men. Few are farmers. There are also 82,000 Welsh, chiefly miners or skilled workmen in metals.

Along with this English and Scotch immigration, and at the same time partly of it, are the English-speaking immigrants from Canada. From Canada and Newfoundland have come nine per cent of the foreign-born, in all 1,209,717 persons. From Newfoundland the number is negligible (5,080), but there were, in 1910, 385,083 French Canadians, and 819,554 English-speaking Canadians in the United States. The English Canadians, some of them of English or Scotch birth, came principally previous to 1895, before the development of Canadian industry. Their occupations, their illiteracy and their criminality are very much the same as those of the native-born. It is estimated that between 1866 and 1896, one-third of the male population of Canada came to the United States.

The French Canadians were first attracted by the New England cotton mills, and settled in many New England towns, though there are considerable agricultural colonies in some parts of the West. They have proven to be exceedingly clannish and difficult to assimilate. They bring their priest with them, do not readily learn English, and bits of Quebec have been transported almost bodily into New England.

Chiefly as the result of the development of the Canadian West, the United States now loses to Canada more than it receives. For example, in the years 1910-12, the net loss was more than 85,000. Thousands of Western farmers sold their high-priced lands and crossed the line, where they could get land naturally as good almost for the asking. It is estimated that the average sum carried to Canada by these emigrants was more than a thousand dollars. The United States, therefore, is receiving the raw material for citizenship in the East, and delivering a finished

product to another country in the West.

These are the leading nationalities which make up what is called the "old immigration" as distinguished from the "new immigration," which has only recently begun to arrive in considerable numbers. From some of these countries already discussed immigrants still come, but proportionally they have been reduced almost to insignificance by the greater numbers now arriving from other parts of Europe. Up to 1870 about 99 per cent of the immigrants arriving from Europe came from the North and West; during the next decade over 90 per cent; for the ten years ending with 1900, only 46 per cent; while during the next ten years only 23 per cent was of the "old immigration." Chinese immigration will be discussed later.

It will be noticed that the older immigration came principally from the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, the Netherlands (including Belgium), the German States and Canada. All of these nations had made decided progress in those factors which make up civilisation, as understood in America. All of them had achieved a considerable measure of religious, economic and political freedom. In all of them respect for the majesty of the law was more or less instinctive; in some of them it was stronger than in the American people themselves. All of them had attained a national culture, superior in certain lines, perhaps, to that developed in America at the time of their coming. They were on the whole representative of their nations. Among them were professional men, skilled mechanics and artisans, as well as unskilled labourers. They rapidly learned English, if they did not already possess the language, and set themselves to making places for themselves in the new land of promise.

Other countries are now furnishing the greater part of the immigrants. These countries are those of Eastern and Southern Europe, and some parts of Asia send some, as China did a generation or two ago. These countries are generally less developed, politically and socially, and industrially they are backward. The gulf between

Immigrants from Canada

The French Canadian More Difficult

Emigration from the United States to Canada

Immigrants Now Come from Other Sections

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

these immigrants and the old American stock is wider than in the case of the older immigration.

The first considerable source was Italy. A very few Italians came during the early years, but only once before 1854 did the number in any year reach a thousand. Over twelve thousand came in 1880, and the number increased, varying somewhat from year to year until the hundred thousand mark was passed in 1900. High water mark was reached in 1907, when 285,731 arrived. The number continued large until the Great European War broke out, when the number returning to take their places in the ranks cancelled the number arriving. Between 1820 and 1912, the total Italian immigration was 3,426,377. The census of 1910 found 1,343,125 Italians in the United States.

The difference between the total number arriving and the number in the country in 1910, is not due chiefly to death, as in the case of the older immigration. Travel is easier and cheaper than in the days of sailing ships, and thousands come every year, not to remain, but to work a year or two, and return home with their savings. So easy and so cheap has the steerage passage become that many even come to stay only a few months, and return home when the dull season begins. The prosperity of scores of little Italian villages depends upon money earned in America. Some of these birds of passage are able to buy a tiny bit of land or an inn in their old homes and remain contented landed proprietors; but America gets into the blood of others and they finally return to settle down in the United States.

The cause of the Italian immigration is almost purely economic. Their country is overpopulated. More than 35,000,000 people — about the same as the whole population of the states bordering on the Atlantic — are attempting to live in an area less than that of Georgia and Florida, and the population increases in spite of the thousands going to the Americas, for South America receives many thousands also. Only one in eight is a skilled labourer. They are chiefly unskilled, two thirds of rural origin.

In these Italians are two distinct strains, those of the North and those of the South. Northern Italy was overrun by Celtic and Germanic tribes and in that section fair hair and blue eyes frequently appear. The North Italians are larger, better educated, and more law-abiding. The South of Italy was overrun by Greek, Saracen and African invasions. In Sicily were also great slave plantations, to which the Romans brought their captives taken in war. Centuries of bad government had their effect upon the island and the near-by mainland also.

The North Italian comes with the intention of remaining, and more easily finds a permanent place in industry. He may be successful in commerce and his children may aspire toward professional or business success. However, only about one fifth of the Italians in the United States come from the North.

The Italian is low in the scale of illiteracy. Of those over fourteen years old on arrival, forty-seven per cent are illiterate. Nearly fifty-five per cent of the South Italians now in the United States do not speak English. Naturally there must be an intermediary between the employer and the labourer.

The Padrone System in Industry This is found in the *padrone*, who appears in many forms. Sometimes he is a sort of sub-contractor. More often he furnishes labourers for a job, and is given the privilege of running the boarding house and the commissary in the construction camp; from the two he makes enormous profits. Where a man is too frugal, and buys from the commissary less than the amount set by the *padrone* as a minimum, he is gotten rid of, and a more liberal spender put in his place. Where the *padrone* is not in charge of the commissary, he exacts a fee from every labourer for his services as interpreter and intermediary between him and the employer.

Since their hope is to save as much as possible at the cost of any discomfort, many of the Italian immigrants live in messes. A cook may be hired or the wife of one of them may attend to the housekeeping. Since a large proportion of the newly arrived are bachelors or else have left their wives in the old home,

the men often take turns in doing such cooking as is done. The cheapest food is bought, and men are crowded together at night in defiance of sanitary rules and regulations.

Three-fourths of the Italians in the United States live in the Atlantic States north of Washington. About sixteen

**Distribution
of the Italian
Population**

per cent are in the Middle West, and the remainder in the Far West and in the South. That is, they are concentrated in that part of the country where the greatest industrial development exists. In the past the South has had in the negro an adequate supply of common labour, but the Italian is appearing in construction gangs in that section in increasing numbers.

The Italians do the hardest and roughest work in the open air. The gigantic Catskill water system for New York City was constructed by Italians. They have dug the New York subways; they were the principal force employed in enlarging the Erie Canal; they are to be found everywhere railway construction is going on; they excavate the foundations for buildings in the great cities; they are found among the street construction and repair gangs. Rising a step, they become section hands on the railroads. Occasionally they may be found indoors in shoe factories, or textile mills, but they do not seem to be adapted to the heavier work of the rolling-mills. A large proportion of those employed in silk-dyeing are Italians, and many are employed in the manufacture of collars and cuffs.

In the skilled trades they are capturing the barber shops in many localities, and many are cobblers. There are Italian tailors, bakers, and in New England marble quarries, some of the most skilful workers are Italians. There are many scissors-grinders, and in some sections many are cigar-makers. Some of the women are engaged in the clothing industry. Few enter domestic service.

So far the Italian has not become a farmer to any considerable extent, taking the country as a whole. This seems

**The Italian
Not on
the Farms**

strange, since nearly half of those entering the country had been engaged in farming abroad. There are, particu-

larly in the South, considerable numbers of Italian farm labourers, and several colonies have been established. In California, the number engaged in grape and fruit growing is actually large, though proportionately small. They are particularly successful in market-gardening, as they do not seem to be able to handle a large tract of land to advantage. In the South, where they have been introduced as farm labourers, they soon buy a few acres and cease to work for wages.

In commerce, some of the North Italians have gained a firm position. The South Italian, as yet, has generally been content with a small business. Thousands keep fruit stands, confectionery shops, or small grocery stores. Some, chiefly North Italians, are prosperous saloon-keepers. Some are succeeding as caterers. Very few have built up large establishments of any sort.

The illiterate Italian is unlikely to feel the desirability of educating his children, and generally withdraws them from

**The Attitude
Toward
Education**

school as soon as the attendance laws permit. The education of the girls, especially, is neglected. Settlement workers find it exceedingly difficult to induce an uneducated Italian father to allow a girl to attend the high school. The influence of American ideas, however, is being felt and the high schools and colleges show an increasing number of Italian youth. In one class recently graduated from a New York college, ten per cent were Italian. Naturally the Italians have not made their mark in the professions. The proportion of lawyers of Italian birth or immediate ancestry is small. Most Italian physicians in the United States were trained abroad. Italian engineers are few, as the children generally show weakness in mathematics.

The criminality of the Italian differs widely from that of the native American or of the Northern European. There are few alcoholics, but they are addicted to gambling. In crimes

**Italian Criminal-
ity in the
United States**

of violence they rank high. "In homicide, rape, blackmail and kidnapping, they lead the foreign-born." Two secret societies, if such they can be called, exercise great influence among them. There are the Camorra, charac-



IMMIGRANTS SHOWING THEIR CREDENTIALS



EXAMINING THE EYES OF WOULD-BE AMERICAN CITIZENS



WAITING THEIR TURN: A TYPICAL BATCH OF ALIEN IMMIGRANTS
AT THE GATE OF THE NEW WORLD: AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

Immediately upon arrival in New York Harbour aliens are taken direct to the United States Immigration Offices on Ellis Island, where they undergo a rigid examination before being permitted to pass through the gates into the New World. Thumb-marks are taken and, with names, heights and weights, are recorded for the immigration index. Those with contagious diseases are excluded.

teristic of Naples, and the Mafia, important in Sicily. Thousands connected with these organisations, or supposed to be so, live by levying blackmail upon their more thrifty and prosperous countrymen, threatening to blow up their homes or places of business or to kidnap their children if their demands are refused. Undoubtedly thousands of Italian criminals have been allowed to come to America.

The willingness of the Italian to endure such impositions without protest makes him the despair of the police. He prefers to pay what he must rather than to trust the law. It must be confessed, however, that the lack of success of the police in tracing such crimes does not encourage the man who complains. Another characteristic is the unwillingness of the South Italian to give information regarding injuries done him. Vengeance in the eyes of the Sicilian is a private matter. If assaulted he does not inform the police, but, as soon as he recovers, takes the matter into his own hands. Italian gangsters, even when mortally wounded, refuse to give the names of their assailants. Italian witnesses in court are often intimidated by a sign secretly given in the courtroom itself.

The Italian immigrants in the cities form a real problem in American life. The proportion seeking naturalisation is

**The Italian
in the
City**

small; they live crowded together in unsanitary surroundings; they live in distinct colonies, and mingle little

with the outer world. As some public-spirited Italians put the matter, "By far the largest part of the Italians of this city have lived a life of their own almost entirely apart from the American environment." Again an Italian student says, "Entire villages have been transplanted from Italy to one New York street, and with the others have come the doctor, the grocer, the priest, and the annual celebration of the local patron saint."

The next division of recent immigrants is a racial group, not a nation. In Eastern and Southeastern Europe, lie the

**The Slavs
in the
United States**

Slav people, divided among a half-dozen different nations, without much reference to racial characteristics.

Bohemians, Poles, Moravians, Slovaks,

Slovenes, Croatians, Dalmatians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Russians, Slavonians, Ruthenians, they call themselves. In all over 2,000,000 — possibly as many as 3,000,000 — of them have come to America, nearly all since 1899.

The Bohemians and the Poles began to come earlier, and many of these sought the land. There are Bohemian settlements in Texas, and in Wisconsin are Polish townships. Some of the Poles more recently arrived are also on the land. Old colonial houses in Hadley, Massachusetts, built as homesteads by the old New England stock, now shelter swarms of Poles, and in the onion or tobacco fields one may see every member of the family, from the aged grandparents to the child hardly able to walk, all at work.

The proportion seeking places on the soil is small, however. They are doing the roughest, hardest work of the country. They have the hardest jobs in the iron and steel works; they do much of

**The Slav
Does the
Hardest Work** the rough work in the meat-packing houses, in the sugar and oil refineries, and in the tanneries. They go

down into the mines. In the carpet and woolen mills and in the glass factories one may find large numbers. Stoically they accept tasks from which others shrink. The Bohemians and the Poles come, expecting to stay, and hence bring their families with them, or else send for them at the first opportunity. Others hope to wring a competence from the country in exchange for their muscle and then return home. Ninety per cent of the Bulgarian, sixty per cent of the Croatian husbands left their wives abroad. They are birds of passage unless the dangers of their employment fix them lifeless in America.

Drunkenness is the great vice of the Slavs, and when under the influence of alcohol they are often violent. From this statement the Bohemians must be excepted. They have been brought into closer relations with Eastern Europe than the other Slavs, and in their attitude of mind are more Teutonic than Slavic. Nearly all the crimes of the Slav are crimes of violence. He engages in af-frays, often terminating in homicide, or commits burglary or theft.

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

In general the Slav ideal of womanhood is the characteristic most unpleasant to Americans. His attitude is primitive.

The Slav Ideal of Womanhood Chivalry did not penetrate his Eastern fastnesses, and the woman is the burden bearer.

She works in the fields, doing the most laborious work, as well as attending to the house. Naturally the houses are often ill kept and offensive. Families are enormous. In one New England town the Slavs were one-fifth of the population, but they furnished two-thirds of the births. In the neighbourhoods where they settle, the residents with a higher standard of life must move out, for if all the family works and lives upon the cheapest food, it can undersell the man who adheres to American standards of life.

The Slav has been too short a time in America to prove whether or not he has anything to contribute to American life beyond his muscle. There

The Slav is Not Becoming Americanised are among them a few successful business men, but almost no captains of industry or professional men. In some instances the priests whom they have brought with them discourage the children from learning English and teach them in parochial schools. They do not wish their flocks to become Americanised. What is to be the effect of this vast undigested group which is in America but not of it is yet to be seen.

Only one other great group remains to be discussed, and it, like the Slavs, is not a nation. Jews were in New York from early times, and at the Revolution there were several thousand in the colonies. At the time of the beginning of

The Scattered Nation the great German migration in 1848 there were probably 50,000 in the United States and this number was tripled before the outbreak of the War. In the eighties they began to come in large numbers — from Russia this time — and in 1907 the number of immigrants from that country reaching the United States was nearly 260,000, nearly all Jews.

A considerable part of the immigration credited to the Austrian Empire is Jewish, and Rumania also sends many Jews. Germany no longer furnishes any considerable number. Though 1907 was prob-

ably the year of the greatest migration, it still continues large. Perhaps one-fifth of all the Jews in the world are in the United States, and of this number half are in the city of New York. This is the greatest Jewish city in the world.

There is a distinct difference between the earlier and the later Jewish immigration. The German Jew, though persecuted in the Middle Ages, had, in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, gained economic freedom, which he had used to advantage.

The German and the Russian Jews Some of the great German bankers were Jews, and many were prosperous manufacturers and business men. Therefore the German Jew coming to the United States was ready to succeed and he has succeeded. The heads of many of the leading banking houses are Jews, as are some of the most successful members of the Stock Exchange. Some of the largest and best managed department stores in American cities are controlled by Jews. Manufacturing enterprises of every sort, some of them exceedingly large, are owned and managed by the German Jewish immigrant or his son. For years they controlled the garment industry, and the largest and best known houses of this sort are still in their hands, but the Russian Jews are pressing them hard in this industry.

Nor is this all. They are important in the theatrical world, as managers, playwrights and actors. Many of the leading musicians and artists are wholly or in part of Jewish blood; thousands are connected with the press in some capacity or other, either in the editorial department or in the business office. The leading universities have many distinguished professors of Jewish blood. Prominent lawyers and judges are Jews. A few have held important public offices. Jewish physicians of distinction are not rare, and there is a much greater number of steady, respectable practitioners. In a word, the German Jew or his children are successful in many lines of intellectual endeavour, and in commercial, manufacturing and financial pursuits.

The Russian and Austrian Jews, coming later from countries where they had suffered almost intolerable persecution,

bring less with them. They are poorer and have had less experience in commercial matters, but they too are determined to succeed. Among them are many artisans, painters, carpenters, paperhangers, locksmiths, tinsmiths, and the like. In the United States they follow the trades they learned in Europe. Few of them, however, are skilled craftsmen. Generally they have attained only average proficiency or even less. By far the largest number engage in the garment industry, first as employees, and often later as employers. In few industries can one begin on such small capital. A room is hired, a few sewing machines are rented, a few bolts of cloth are bought on credit, some of his co-religionists, lately arrived, are employed, and work is begun.

If success comes, as it often does come, more machines are obtained, and larger rooms are secured, as business demands.

The Growth of the Garment Industry

It is not unusual for a man or a partnership, beginning like this, to move within ten years to one of the great loft buildings with thousands of feet of floor space, and do a business of many thousands of dollars a year. Or a recently arrived immigrant, starting with a pushcart or even with a pack, may become a great merchant.

The German Jew who has become accustomed to prosperity sometimes is neglectful of higher education. The Russian Jew has a positive thirst for knowledge, not always so much for its own sake, perhaps, as for its economic and social advantages. The high schools and colleges of New York are thronged with Jewish boys and girls, either born in Russian Poland or in Galicia themselves, or only one generation removed. They contest with the Irish for positions in the Civil Service, and generally win; many men and women become teachers in the public schools; thousands go on to graduate or professional study. The girls work in the clothing industry, in the shops, or as clerks or stenographers. Law and medicine are the favourite professions, but lately engineering has claimed an increasing number. Many are dentists or pharmacists. In other words, they are striving with the native-born in every profession open to them.

They are keen, and the librarians say that they read the best books. Many seem to "have hungry minds," and they will study as no other children will do. They are tenacious of purpose and press on toward their goal regardless of obstacles. While many care only for material gain, there are many socialists

among them, and the discussion of social and economic problems is one of the characteristics of the great East Side of New York, where lives the greatest number of people to the square mile in the world. This section is one of the most interesting in the city.

In strong contrast with the North Europeans, the Jews, German or Russian, will not go upon the land. In 1909

a census of Jewish farmers showed only a little more than 3,000 names. While this

enumeration is, of course, imperfect, it may be doubted whether there are 5,000 Jewish families in the United States engaged in agriculture. This insignificant showing is due neither to lack of energy nor of capital. Several semi-philanthropic organisations are anxious to place Jewish families on farms, and will supply them with tools and expert advice, but not one family in a hundred will accept the invitation. They buy land in the cities, however, and become shrewd real estate speculators. Some of the best apartment and loft buildings in New York are owned by Jews.

In the past the Jew was forced to dwell within towns, whether he wished it or not, and the habit has become ingrained. He has, in fact, developed a sort of im-

munity to some of the diseases common in crowded or unsanitary quarters. The death rate from tuberculosis, for exam-

ple, is much less among Jews than in the general population, and in general they seem to suffer less from city life than any other of the immigrant groups. The Italians, who generally lived in the country abroad, have a much higher death rate in the United States, though their conditions of life may be no worse than those endured by the Jews.

Life in America brings many problems to the orthodox Jew. He has been ac-

The Jews Intellectually Alert

Few Jewish Farmers in the United States

The Jews in the City



REFUGEES FROM LIBAU SEEKING FREEDOM IN AMERICA



IMMIGRANTS WITH COMPLETE BELONGINGS AFTER PASSING THE AUTHORITIES

SEEKING A PLACE IN THE NEW WORLD

Every year thousands leave the countries where they were born to find homes in the United States. Every country in Europe is represented, but recently those countries in the East and South of Europe send the most. In some years the number of immigrants has passed the million mark. Some come to escape religious or political persecution, but more because the chances of success are greater in the United States than elsewhere. Over 30,000,000 have come since 1820.

customed to observe many holy days as well as his Sabbath, and in the complexity of American commercial and industrial life this is exceedingly difficult. The German Jews are for the most part of the Reformed faith. They have discarded a large part of the ceremonial law and have reduced the number of holy days. Others have sought a rationalistic faith, as exemplified in the Ethical Culture Societies. Out of these come individuals of a type which may well be compared with the best of the Unitarians of the last century. Others neglect religious observance except upon a few of the more important holy days. Many are acknowledged freethinkers.

The Difficulty of Religious Observance

The same process is going on among the Jews of the later immigration. The parents remain orthodox but the children break away. Too often, in suddenly discarding the ceremonials of the faith in which they were born, they discard all religion. A strong counter-movement is now under way. The leaders hope to instill race pride and to help the youth to preserve the fundamentals of the old faith.

The Older and the Younger Generation

The criminality of the Jew follows certain well-defined lines. He is seldom alcoholic, and in crimes of violence his percentage is below the average, but in gainful offenses there is an abrupt rise. Forgery, fraud, gambling, fraudulent bankruptcy are the crimes for which the percentage of Jewish convictions is high. As a distinguished Jewish writer says: "The Christians commit crimes with their hands, while the Jews use their reason for these evil purposes." In other words, the Jewish offenses are commercial. Yet it must be observed that changes are coming. The Jewish "gunman" is no longer unknown, and a crop of Jewish prizefighters has grown up, though for business reasons they usually adopt Irish names.

It is yet too early to predict the final result of America upon the Jews. Undoubtedly attendance at the synagogue is less observed, and marriages with Christians appear to be increasing proportionately as well as actually. The European Ghetto helped to keep the Jews

The Effect of America upon Jewish Life

a "peculiar people." It remains to be seen whether the free air of America will undo what hundreds of years of segregation and persecution have accomplished.

These are the principal immigrant groups, but there are many smaller in size. There are perhaps 200,000 Greeks, all of recent immigration. They come as individuals, not as families, and generally seek a livelihood in some sort of commercial pursuit, though several thousand are in the New England cotton mills. They open fruit stands, confectionery stores, ice-cream stands, florists' shops, restaurants and the like. They are perfectly willing to work fifteen to eighteen hours a day, and they get ahead.

The Portuguese in this country are almost entirely confined to New England and California. In New England they work in the cotton mills or are engaged in the fishing industry. In many of the fishing towns they have replaced the Yankee almost entirely. In California they are engaged in the vineyards and orchards. While not especially criminal, they are near the bottom in the scale of illiteracy, and improve little.

The Portuguese Immigrants

There are some other groups which have varied little in the number of immigrants coming into the United States.

The French Do not Emigrate

In 1820 a few hundred French came, but only twice within the decade did more than a thousand arrive. As time went on the number rose slightly, varying considerably from year to year. The French influx has never been large, however, as in the nineteenth century the French have not shown themselves willing to leave their home land. Only seven times between 1820 and 1912 did more than ten thousand arrive in any year. In 1910 there were only 117,418 persons of French birth in the United States.

They are to be found in many occupations, with a rather large proportion of the professional classes. The proportion of skilled labourers is also high. Among these immigrants are teachers, engineers, musicians and artists; and also merchants, restaurateurs and clerks. The textile industries attract some, and a larger percentage is engaged in the manufacture of glass. There are also dress-makers and tailors, and many waiters.

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

The women enter the higher grades of domestic service, as nurses, ladies' maids and the like, though there are cooks, male and female.

Some of the same things may be said of the Swiss. Only three times since 1820 have more than ten thousand come in any year, and the general average since 1900 has been around 3500. In 1910

varies greatly with the season of the year. They are employed chiefly in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California, in various forms of unskilled labour, such as railway construction, mining, smelting, and on the farms. The percentage of illiteracy and of crime is high; they do not learn Eng-

Mexicans
in the West-
ern States



ON THE EAST SIDE, NEW YORK CITY: THE PUSHCART MARKET

New York has become the greatest Jewish city in the world. More than a million Jews now live in the city, and in some sections the population is exceedingly dense. On some streets most of the purchases are made from pushcarts where food and clothing are displayed, as shown in the picture.

there were about 125,000 in the country.

The Swiss
in the
United States

Since they have no national language they have often been classed either with the German or the French.

About forty per cent are engaged in agriculture and they make excellent farmers. There are some labourers, but a larger proportion of skilled workers. Many are engaged in the preparation or the serving of food. Like the French their numbers are too small to make any pronounced impression upon the life of the country, though they are usually good citizens.

There were also, in 1910, about 222,000 Mexicans reported, though this number

lish readily and they take little interest in education.

There are more than half a million immigrants in this country with a greater or less amount of Mongolian blood. Beside the Chinese and the Japanese, the Finns and the Magyars must be placed, though there has been much Caucasian intermixture in the last two. The Finns are chiefly farmers, with a strong desire to improve their economic condition, and nearly all of them are literate. They are honest and industrious, even if somewhat unprogressive.

The Magyars are birds of passage. It is estimated that four of every five return to their homes. They are to be found in

the heavy industries, where they work well. Drunkenness is their worst vice, though their tempers are hot and crimes of violence are common. Those who remain become naturalised and make good citizens.

Finally there are more than 100,000 from the Levant, Turks, Syrians, and Armenians. All are quiet, peaceable, thrifty, and sober. They are almost entirely engaged in commercial pursuits. Their reputation for truth and straightforwardness is not of the best, and they gather in colonies and resist assimilation. They too are in America but not of it.

Chinese began to come to California in considerable numbers after the discovery of gold, and perhaps 20,000 were engaged in mining in 1861. Later, thousands were brought in to work on the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. Others were laundrymen, or domestic servants, and later they were employed in salmon-canning. Other thousands went to the farms, market gardens, and orchards on the Pacific coast. Race prejudice was excited and there were serious race riots, which finally led to a Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 to run for ten years. The Act excluded all labourers, skilled or unskilled. At that time there were about 132,000 Chinese in the United States, chiefly in the West. The Act was extended in 1892, in 1902, and in 1904 was made absolute. In 1910, there were only 71,531 Chinese reported in the Census.

The number of Japanese coming before 1900 was small, but by 1910 there were more than 72,000. They are engaged chiefly in farming and fruit growing, railroad construction and repairs, salmon-canning, domestic service, and in small business establishments. A few are engaged in lumbering, mining and similar industries. Some of those engaged in various forms of domestic service took such positions in order to learn the English language and to get the American point of view, expecting afterward to take up manufacturing or commerce. From about 1905 opposition to further Japanese immigration has been intense in the West; and in 1907, an understanding was reached with Japan by

which that country agreed to prevent further immigration of labourers into the United States.

Until 1882, the regulation of immigration had been left entirely to the states, which meant, of course, those which included a few ports on the seaboard. In that year Congress passed the first general law, taking control of the subject and providing for the exclusion of convicts, idiots, lunatics and those likely to become public charges. In 1885 the importation of contract labour was forbidden though no method of inspection was provided. Gradually supplementary laws were passed, strengthening the Acts and providing for better enforcement. Polygamists and individuals suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease were excluded. Later anarchists were added to the excluded class, to be followed by mental defectives and women brought in for immoral purposes.

Four times Congress has passed an Act forbidding the admission of an immigrant over sixteen years of age who can not read some language. It has been vetoed by Presidents Cleveland, Taft and twice by President Wilson. The last time, however, the supporters of the bill were strong enough to pass it over the veto. It is likely that still further restrictions will be imposed.

America has been called the "melting pot" of the world. Nowhere else have so many and such heterogeneous racial elements ever been gathered together, with the expectation that they would somehow become fused into a homogeneous people. Thanks to the greatest Americanising agency, the public school, a certain measure of success has been reached in the past. As the tendency to become segregated in colonies and to teach the children in parochial schools conducted in their native language grows, the task becomes more difficult, and success is by no means assured.

Certainly the American of fifty years hence, whatever he may be, will be very different from the American of the past or the American of to-day.

The Regulation of Immigration

The Asiatic Immigration

The Illiterate Immigrant

America the Melting Pot of the World



TOTEM POLES OUTSIDE THE HOUSES OF CHIEFS IN ALASKA

THE OUTLYING TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

POSSESSIONS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES INHABITED BY MANY RACES

THE United States that emerged from the Revolutionary War with England was only a narrow strip of territory along the Atlantic Coast. For nearly a hundred years this narrow strip expanded, spreading to the westward and to the southward. Yet always the newly

Territorial Expansion of the United States

added territories adjoined the old. As they became settled, first by the more adventurous elements from the eastern states, later by immigrants from abroad, they were organised into dependent territories and later into states, full partners in the Union. Finally the United States were rounded out into a great country, stretching solidly from ocean to ocean, bounded on one side by Mexico and on the other by Canada.

For many years growth continued, but in development, not in expansion. Then, suddenly, there was added to our possession a great amount of outlying territory, far beyond and not touching our home borders. Whether any or all of this outlying territory will eventually become ordinary states of the Union is a question for the future, but the story of how it was acquired forms a separate chapter in United States history.

These foreign possessions now include Alaska in the north, Hawaii and part of the Samoan Islands, in the tropical seas, the Philippines and Guam across the Pa-

cific, a strip of land ten miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama and the island of Porto Rico in the Atlantic. Cuba, too,

Extent of Outlying Territory

was for a while American territory and even now is not quite free from the supervision of the United States Government. Aside from these inhabited countries we hold the Midway Islands, in the Pacific, about 1300 miles southwest of Hawaii, used as a cable station; the Marcus and Wake Islands, in the same region, so small that they are only down in navigation charts, and, further south, Howland and Baker Islands, also mere reefs in the ocean, yet important as possible bases of operation in case of war.

Alaska was not only the first of these outside countries to come into our possession, but it is also the largest and the most important. In area it is almost one fifth as large as the home territory of the United States. If all the Atlantic states combined, from Maine to Florida, were laid over it, one third of Alaska would still remain uncovered.

In shape it is a huge peninsula, with the Arctic Sea on the north and the Pacific to the south, while on the west it is separated from Siberia in Asia only by a narrow strait. From the lower corner of the peninsula a long, bow-shaped chain of seventy treeless islands shoots nearly a thousand miles across the Pacific Ocean, almost reaching the coast of Kam-

chatka. These are the Aleutian Islands.

The first white man to set foot on Alaskan soil was Vitus Bering, a Danish officer in the Russian navy, from whom the strait separating it from

Early Exploration of Alaska

Asia was named. That was in 1728, but thirteen years

later he made a second expedition, during which he made a more extended survey of the coast. In his report to the Russian Government he described the new country as an eternal iceberg, an impression that has persisted down to the present time. As a matter of fact, Sitka, in Alaska, is further south than Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, and during the coldest winter months the temperature of Sitka is about the same as the temperature in St. Louis, during the same period.

The northern fifth of Alaska, which drains into the Arctic Ocean, is quite barren and for forty days during the winter the sun does not rise above the horizon. But below this section comes the great Yukon River Valley, whose watershed includes nearly half of Alaska. Here great forests of magnificent timber cover all except a few of the highest mountain ranges and peaks, but toward the coast the valley widens and sinks into broad, rolling plains suitable to the raising of grain crops.

Down in the south, about Sitka, the region resembles Norway with its rock bound fiords, whose shores rise hundreds, sometimes thousands, of feet out of the water in sheer precipices and picturesque bluffs. Still further inland there are many broad plateaus and valleys that give promise of great, prosperous farming communities to come in the not very distant future.

Bering's report did not encourage the Russian Government to attempt any colonisation schemes in Alaska; but not

Russian Development of Alaska

very long afterwards a few venturesome fur traders went over and began trading with the Indians. By 1784

they had established the first settlement at Sitka, which became quite a busy town, where machine shops were established and trading vessels were built to sail up and down the coast. Yet even then Russia did not trouble to establish a government but entrusted the maintenance of

law and order to the fur company which did most of the trade with the natives.

The Russians had found the country thinly populated by Esquimos in the north, along the Arctic Coast, and Indians throughout the southern regions. The Alaska Indians, of whom there are several tribes, differ very much from our plains Indians, both in appearance and in habits. Physically they resemble the Mongolian tribes of Siberia, with their dark skins, slanting eyes and sparse mustaches, which may indicate a recent migration from Asia. There are certain types among them that might easily pass as Chinese or Japanese. The Russians, who were inclined to treat them rather roughly, found that they could be hard fighters but usually they are not warlike. Under American sovereignty they have ever been peaceful and law-abiding.

Naturally, under her system of farming out the country to a private corporation, Russia did not find much profit in her American possession. It was not to the interest of the fur company to suggest other forms of enterprise, which might lead to its losing full control of local affairs.

Meanwhile Great Britain was pushing her settlements further westward until they came in contact with those of the Russians. To avoid trouble over what

Russia Sells to the United States

she thought to be worthless territory, Russia offered to sell Alaska to the United States for \$7,200,000. The

offer was accepted; yet in spite of its vastness, there were many protests against paying what seemed so big a sum for a "frozen desert." The transfer was made in Sitka in 1867, and we inherited Russia's northern boundary disputes with Great Britain. The most important of these was not settled until 1903, when an international commission decided largely in our favour.

Having bought Alaska, the United States Government seemed to forget it. For seventeen years no provision was made for the government of the several hundred white Russians, to whom full citizenship was granted, and the several thousands of natives who inhabited the territory at the time of the transfer. Finally, in 1884, Congress passed an act

THE OUTLYING TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

which gave the President the power to appoint a civil governor and four justices of the peace. To save the trouble of creating special laws the general laws of the State of Oregon were declared to be in force within Alaskan boundaries in so far as they could be applied.

Probably nothing further would have happened until the present day if, in 1897, the cry of "Gold!" had not been raised. The adventurers of the world flocked thither in a turbulent stream. Every available steamer or sailing vessel on the Pacific Coast that could float was chartered to transport this mob of prospectors northward and soon the same scenes that had been enacted in California were being repeated in Alaska, the frozen desert of the north.

The Rush to the North The first discovery of gold was made in the Klondike, on British territory, but soon prospectors were making big strikes in other sections, on American territory as well, especially about Nome, on the western coast. Men who possessed nothing but their prospecting tins and a few weeks' provisions would wash out thousands of dollars worth of the yellow metal in a few days. Naturally the whole population was feverishly excited.

Not all were so lucky, however. Again, as in California, those who failed at prospecting turned to see what other riches might lie within the new country, and found them. This happened especially after the easily worked placer diggings were exhausted and capital was needed for the difficult quartz mines. Rich deposits of copper were found and twenty millions were spent in building a railroad 196 miles long to transport the ore from one mine to the coast. This mine paid three million dollars in dividends in two years.

Then coal was discovered. The United States Geological Survey estimates that there is something like a hundred and fifty billions of tons of coal to be mined in Alaska.

Revenues from Natural Resources This estimate, considered a minimum one, would provide for a daily output of 10,000 tons for 40,000 years. There was such a rush by speculators to secure coal claims that the Government decided to withdraw all coal lands from entry, so that these rich

deposits may be reserved for the future use of the nation.

For many years past the seal fisheries have been a large resource of Alaska, but the greed of private individuals threatened soon to exterminate the seals on the small islands along the coast, and their hunting has been restricted by an international agreement with Great Britain and Russia.

Many of the original gold hunters returned to the States, but enough remained to bring up the problem of providing a more effective system of government. By the last census there were 36,000 whites and less than 30,000 Indians and Chinese. In 1906 this population demanded recognition, and Alaska was constituted a regular territory with a delegate to represent its citizens in Congress. In 1912 a legislative assembly was created by an act of Congress, consisting of eight senators and sixteen representatives. The Governor, appointed by the President, has the power of veto and all laws passed by the Assembly must be submitted to Congress before they take effect.

In August, 1914, the Alaska Engineering Commission, appointed by the United States Government, began surveying for the purpose of building a railroad from the east side of Knit Arm, a tributary of Cook Inlet.

The Alaska Railroad In April, 1915, the place had developed into a great city of tents and frame buildings and was named Anchorage. At a public auction the Government sold the land on which this new city stands as town lots, some of them going for over \$1100, which is probably the highest price at which the Government has ever sold its public land.

The building of the railroad has hardly been begun, but the prospect of public work has brought an influx of labourers and other settlers; in all probability it will not be many years before the once "frozen desert" of the north will take its place with other well-developed sections of the United States.

With two minor exceptions it was to be over thirty years after the purchase of Alaska before the United States was again to acquire more territory. These two exceptions were so insignificant that probably not one American citizen out of

ten knew of them at the time of their occurrence.

In 1869 Congress authorised the establishment of a naval station in the Pacific, so the flag was raised over the Midway Islands, half way across the Pacific. As with the other islands in those waters which we have acquired, they were mere "bird roosts" in the middle of the ocean, so barren that no other country had ever thought it worth while to annex them. Later, the building of a harbour for a naval station was abandoned, but the Midways continued being charted as "American possessions," though only gulls inhabited them.

In 1903 a cable station was established on Sand Island, one of the group, about a mile and a half long and three quarters of a mile wide. Here are stationed about twenty employees of the cable company, their Chinese servants and a surgeon of the United States Navy with a handful of marines. Every three months a supply ship calls. During the intervals between these exciting visits the modern Crusoes bathe in the surf, fish, play tennis and occasionally cultivate vegetables in a garden, the soil for which has been brought over from Hawaii. Yet remote as they are from all civilisation, the cable keeps them in touch with the big current events of the outside world. Indeed, when the first hostilities of the Russo-Japanese War broke out the boys on Sand Island knew it before we did, for the messages passed through their hands on their way eastward.

Three years after hoisting the flag over the Midways we became interested in the Samoan Islands, also called Navigators' Islands, so named by the French sea explorer, De Bougainville, who discovered them in 1768, because of the skill of the natives in building and handling small sea craft.

There are thirteen islands in this group, situated some hundreds of miles east of the northern part of Australia, but only four of them are large enough to be worth considering. These have an area of a little over 1300 square miles. The biggest of them is Savaii, though the capital of Samoa, Apia, is on the island of Upolu, the second in size. The natives are

closely related in race to the Hawaiians; they are of that copper bronze hue which distinguishes the races of Oceanica from the more murky Malays and East Indians. And, again like their cousins the Hawaiians, they are gentle and pleasure loving.

Though discovered by a Frenchman, the French Government never attempted to plant a colony in Samoa. In 1839 Charles Wilkes, an officer in the United States Navy, was sent to visit the islands and make a survey and during his stay he incidentally made a sort of treaty with the native ruler. Thirty-three years later the native king agreed to allow the United States Navy to establish a coaling station in the harbour of Pago Pago, on the island of Tutuila. This cession was afterwards confirmed by a regular treaty, signed at Washington in 1878, which also gave certain commercial rights and extra-territorial consular jurisdiction. Great Britain and Germany also acquired similar concessions.

Owing to the inability of the native king to maintain order and guarantee the rights of foreign residents, it was necessary several times for the three powers interested to make joint intervention.

In 1889 Germany took advantage of one of these disturbances to attempt to dethrone the king entirely and put in his place a successor subservient to German interests, thus giving Germany practical control of all the islands. The United States and Great Britain protested, but Germany persisted in her stand.

The warships of the three powers in South Pacific waters began gathering in the harbour of Upolu and at any moment open hostilities seemed likely. But just then one of the most destructive hurricanes known to the whites in Samoa swept down and spread disaster among the ships and the towns and villages ashore. The German ships suffered most; one went to pieces in the surf and the German sailors were struggling in the turbulent waters; many of them were drowning. At that moment the Samoans, forgetting their anger against the Germans as a nation, formed rescuing parties on the beach and with heroic efforts saved scores of German sailors and officers

**Midway
Islands in
the Pacific**

**The
Samoan
Islands**

THE OUTLYING TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

from being pounded to death in the tremendous surf.

Whether the behaviour of the natives on this occasion softened the officials of the German Government in Berlin is not known, but at any rate Germany did waive what she considered her claims against the Samoan kingdom and returned to the old agreement with Great Britain and the United States. But the partnership did not work out well. Finally, in 1898, it was agreed to divide the islands between the United States and Germany, giving to each exclusive control over the territory assigned to it. To the United States fell six of the islands, including the valuable harbour of Pago Pago. This arrangement was agreed to by the natives in 1900.

As there are only a few thousand inhabitants in our Samoan possession, not much attention has ever been given to its government. The naval officer in command of the station acts as Governor, but he allows himself to be guided and limited by the native customs and habits of life. The soil is rich; cotton, sugar, coffee and cocoanuts are grown, but are not in sufficient quantities to create an important trade.

The other islands continued in the possession of the Germans and the British, until the beginning of the present great war, when Great Britain ousted the Germans and took their territory as a war measure.

The Hawaiian Islands were acquired during the war with Spain, but there had been talk of annexation for many years before that. Here we find the peculiar situation of a small country attempting to become the dependency of a big nation and being refused. Captain Cook discovered them during the Revolutionary War and he was killed there in a skirmish with the natives on the beach. The Kanakas, as they prefer to call themselves, however, are not warlike but like the Samoans are gentle and kind.

The Hawaiian Islands, or, as Cook called them after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, the Sandwich Islands, are situated almost in the middle of the Pacific. The soil and the lava beds cov-

ering a greater part of the islands, give evidence of their volcanic origin and some of the largest active volcanoes in the world may be seen there. Kilauea, on the largest island, Hawaii, has a crater three miles across and seven hundred feet deep.

Among the young Hawaiian chiefs who visited Cook aboard his ship was one who was destined to play an important part in the history of his country. It was on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of Vancouver, one of Cook's officers, and the two became warm friends.

Years later Vancouver returned at the head of another expedition and gave the young Kanaka chief a supply of rifles and ammunition. With these munitions he conquered the rest of the islands and had himself proclaimed sole king as

Kamehameha I. Having established his power, he began to welcome white men to settle and to introduce not only the material implements of civilisation, but its educational institutions as well. There have been four other rulers after him by the same name, all of them as enlightened as the first. One of them, Kamehameha III, invited the British Government to assume control over the islands, but this protectorate lasted only a short time. In 1843 the independence of Hawaii was restored through an international agreement between Great Britain, the United States and France. David Kalakaua, the last native king, died in 1891, while on a visit to San Francisco, after which his sister was proclaimed Queen, under the title of Liliuokalani.

By this time the white settlers, the first of whom had been missionaries, had become an important element of the population. Two years after her accession they instituted a revolution which resulted in the Queen being deposed and a republic was set up, under a white man, Sanford B. Dole, as President. Immediately afterward an attempt was made by the American element to have the islands annexed to the United States, but Grover Cleveland, then President, would not consider the scheme and in this stand he was supported by Congress. So the Hawaiian Republic continued independent for some years longer, though the annexa-

**Joint Control
of the
Samoan Islands**

**Political
Development**

**The
Hawaiian
Islands**

tionists still persisted in attempting to have their hopes realised.

Then came the war with Spain. It was suddenly found necessary to transport troops and war supplies to the Philippines and to facilitate this object a convenient coaling station somewhere in the Pacific was needed. Honolulu, the chief harbour of Hawaii, answered all the requirements, but it could not well be used without violating the neutrality of the Hawaiian Government. So the standing offer of annexation was accepted, and on August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian flag was lowered and the American flag rose in its place. The native Hawaiians made no opposition, but it was reported that not one Kanaka was present in the big crowd that thronged the street before the Palace while the ceremony of raising the flag was going on.

Hawaii is now organised as a territory of the United States. All the natives, both white and Kanaka, were immediately given all the privileges of citizenship. In 1914 the population was estimated at 200,000, but of this number only about 25,000 are pure natives. About 45,000 are whites, but the Japanese and Chinese, chiefly represented by the labourers imported to work the big sugar plantations, number fully 100,000, or half of the total population. Were the islands again given their independence and all residents were given the vote, we should see a Mongolian nation in the middle of the Pacific.

In none of our outlying territories did annexation have such marked results as in Hawaii. Business expanded rapidly, Americans came to settle in great numbers, and to-day Honolulu has all the appearance of an American city, in which the Kanakas are themselves a foreign element. The chief product is sugar; fifty million dollars worth is shipped to the United States every year. Other important resources are pineapples, coffee, rice, tobacco, cotton and rubber.

Had Spain kept step with modern ideas of colonial administration, it is probable the United States would still be strictly a continental power. We come now to the circumstances which led to the colonial expansion of the United States.

Cuba is the largest and the most west-

erly of the Antilles, as the West Indies are sometimes called. It is a large island, with some adjacent smaller ones, about 750 miles in length, and nowhere much over sixty miles in breadth, with an area about the same as the State of Pennsylvania. Columbus landed here during his first voyage and named it Juana, but the native name, Cuba, survived. In 1511 the first Spanish colony was founded and within ten years it had become the base of all the naval and military operations against Mexico. Gradually the original Indian population died, or was killed, and in its place came the Spaniards and their imported African slaves. What made the Spanish element especially strong later, both in Cuba and Porto Rico, was the arrival of the thousands who were expelled from the South and Central American colonies and Mexico as they gained their independence from Spain.

Porto Rico, spelled Puerto Rico by the Spaniards, meaning "rich port," is an island about one hundred miles in length with an average width of about thirty-five miles, lying eastward from Cuba. A range of mountains traverses the island from east to west, averaging 1500 feet in height, though in one place it rises to a peak 3000 feet above sea level. In area it is about three times the size of Rhode Island. As the population was always small, the Spaniards were able to rule it with an iron hand. Here, as in Cuba, the original population is extinct, but its effacement was accomplished almost entirely by one grand massacre, superintended by the famous Ponce de Leon. The present population, therefore, numbering about 1,200,000, is made up of about the same elements as is that of Cuba.

These two were the last of the Spanish possessions in America. The Cubans had made many attempts to free themselves from Spanish rule, but all had been repressed with such severity that the whole world was shocked. The position of Cuba naturally caused the disorders and their barbarous suppression to be more offensive to the American people than to others.

The Spaniards objected to the attitude of American citizens who did not

hesitate to show sympathy for the cause of the insurgents. The Cuban revolutionary juntas in New York and other American cities had little difficulty in raising money to buy arms and ammunition which were smuggled across in American steamers with American crews. This had been going on for years. During the administration of President Grant such a filibustering vessel, the *Virginus*, was captured and the crew immediately shot. It required all the persuasive powers of Hamilton Fish, who was then Secretary of State, to prevent President Grant from taking drastic action at the time.

Finally, in 1896, General Weyler, the "iron administrator" of Spanish colonies, was appointed Governor-General of Cuba and he set about suppressing the smouldering insurrection. He attempted to force all the rural population of the affected districts to concentrate within the towns, so that they might not supply the insurgents with food from their farms and plantations. Fully half of the non-combatants, many of them women and children, who were thus confined within the "reconcentrado" camps died of hunger. Nor was the main object accomplished, for the insurgents won victory after victory, driving the Spanish soldiers within the towns and cities.

Meanwhile photographs of the starving women and children in the reconcentrado camps were being published in American magazines and newspapers and popular indignation grew. Then, to add to the strain, the Spanish Minister to Washington wrote an insulting letter concerning President McKinley to a friend, which was intercepted and published. The diplomat immediately resigned and left the country, but the bitterness roused by his letter remained. The climax, for which Spain was probably not to blame, served to rouse American anger into action. The American battleship *Maine*, lying in Havana Harbour on a friendly visit, was blown up at her moorings and 266 of her officers and men were killed. For two months after this incident the Government in Washington managed to restrain the impulsive desire of the people to put an

immediate end to Spanish rule in Cuba. The commission sent to investigate the cause of the disaster to the *Maine* reported, "the *Maine* was blown up from the outside." This only served to increase the general feeling in favour of some drastic action. On April 20, 1898, the Spanish Minister was dismissed and war was declared.

In ships and guns the Spanish navy was about equal to ours, and there was considerable anxiety for the safety of American seaports. The Spanish fleet, under Admiral Cervera, had been seen steaming westward from the Cape de Verde Islands. The American fleet, under Admiral Sampson, sailed to Cuba to blockade Cuban ports and to meet the Spanish ships. While the American people waited to hear of a naval battle in Cuban waters, a cable from Hong Kong gave the unexpected news of a naval engagement in which an American fleet under Commodore George Dewey had destroyed a Spanish fleet at Manila, and that consequently the Philippine Islands had been taken.

There had been no discussion regarding the Philippines; each newspaper announcing the victory spelled the name of the islands in a different way.

The Little-Known Philippines There was a rush for geographies and encyclopedias and books regarding this unexpected prize. The only book ever written on the Philippines seemed to be by an obscure German professor by the name of Blumentritt, and even he had never seen the islands.

Yet the Philippines cover more land surface than all New England and New York combined, and include over three thousand islands, of which only a little over half have as yet been named. Here, too, as in Cuba, there was the same story of Spanish misrule, and resulting insurrections. The islands had been visited and discovered by Magellan, in the service of Spain, in 1521, but it was not until fifty years later that Miguel Lopez de Legaspi arrived, with a force of about four hundred men, and began their complete conquest, sometimes by trickery and assumed friendship, sometimes by hard fighting.

Luzon, the largest of the islands, is

only a few hundred miles from the coast of Asia. Around Manila, in the south, the climate is truly tropical, but in the mountainous regions of northern Luzon the temperature is cooler, with an occasional frost in the higher altitudes. Mindanao, in the south, is another large island. Between Mindanao and Borneo lie the islands of the Sulu archipelago, also included in the Philippines.

When Legaspi came he found a population of pure Malay origin, with the exception of certain tribes in northern Luzon, which seemed to show

Ethnology of the Filipinos

Chinese admixture. It is supposed that centuries before Magellan came, Chinese pirate junks had raided this coast of the China Sea and some of their crews may have been wrecked here. Even the Malays were perhaps not the original inhabitants, for in the interior there were, and are still, wild tribes of semi-dwarfs, the Negritos; black as African negroes, with kinky hair and speaking an entirely different dialect. These were probably the original natives, driven inland by the Malays.

The most advanced of the Malays were the Tagalogs, a peaceful people engaged in agriculture and trading, chiefly on the island of Luzon. These people readily allowed themselves to be converted to Christianity by the friars who accompanied the Spanish conquerors. In the south, however, in the island of Mindanao, was another tribe of Malays whom the Spaniards were never able to conquer completely. These evidently came later, after the Mohammedan religion had penetrated the East Indies, for they are all fanatical adherents of the Prophet, with the fierce courage that that religion seems to impart to its followers. They are called Moros.

Just before Dewey's victory in Manila Bay there had been an insurrection of the Tagalogs on the island of Luzon, under

The Philippine Insurrection

Emilio Aguinaldo. This uprising had been subdued, partly with promises of reforms and partly by a payment of a large sum of money to the insurgent leaders. After this agreement Aguinaldo and his fellow leaders sailed for Hong Kong. Almost immediately after the battle of Manila Bay, Dewey

and the American consul at Hong Kong made arrangements with Aguinaldo to return to the Philippines. Some rifles and ammunition which were found in the captured naval arsenal in Manila Bay were turned over to him and he began at once to organise a new insurrection, to support the Americans. This he did with much success; the Filipinos drove the Spaniards within the walls of Manila and captured all their detached garrisons in the island of Luzon.

Meanwhile the American volunteer armies were being mobilised; at Tampa, Florida, and at San Francisco. By this

Destruction of the Spanish Fleet

time the Spanish Atlantic fleet had been discovered in hiding in the harbour of Santiago de Cuba, almost completely concealed by the rocky ledges surrounding it. The Spanish admiral realised the superior training and equipment of the American navy. An attempt to "bottle up" the Spanish fleet by sinking an old collier in the harbour entrance failed. A force of seventeen thousand Americans was landed in Cuba before Santiago, under the immediate command of General Wheeler. The Spaniards made no determined resistance, except at San Juan Ridge, and by July 2 they had been driven within the walls of the city by the combined Cuban and American forces.

On July 3 the Spanish fleet made a dash out of the harbour, and the long expected naval engagement took place. The result was decisive; with the loss of one man the American ships reduced the Spanish fleet to a heap of junk on the nearby beach, and Cervera, with 76 of his officers and 1600 of his men, was captured. Two weeks later the 24,000 Spanish soldiers in Santiago, under General Torral, surrendered. The force that had been sent to Porto Rico was equally successful. There remained now only the Spanish army in Manila.

Several transports had meanwhile been sent out across the Pacific. They first stopped at Guam, an island in the Ladrones, a few hundred miles this side of the Philippines. There is a story to the effect that when the *Charleston*, which was convoying the transports, sailed into Guam Harbour and began firing at a rocky ridge, where the fortifi-

THE OUTLYING TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

cations were supposed to be, the Spanish *comandante* came out and apologised for not having the powder with which to answer the salute. At any rate, he immediately surrendered the island, no larger than a Texas cattle ranch.

By the beginning of August the American force landed below Manila was considered strong enough to begin operations, in co-operation with the **Manila** Filipinos, who had surrounded **Captured** the city. On August 13 the American ships bombarded the fortifications, the land forces attacked, and a few hours later the Spaniards surrendered. The American soldiers marched into Manila. The Filipinos attempted to follow, but General Merritt, in command of the American forces, ordered them to remain outside. Rather sullenly they obeyed.

The day before a peace protocol had been signed with Spain. Had Manila held out twenty-four hours longer, until news of the peace protocol could have reached the Governor-General, developments there might have been different.

A commission was now sent to Paris to arrange a treaty of peace with the Spanish representatives. Spain surrendered Cuba and Porto Rico, and the Philippines were given up for a cash consideration of twenty million dollars. Now the question of what was to be done with the foreign territories captured from Spain arose.

Regarding Cuba, the way was clear enough. At the time war was declared Congress had passed a resolution declaring that the American nation had no intention of annexing Cuba, and that the Cubans "ought by right to be free and independent." But a government could not be organised in a day, especially by a people who had had no experience in government.

At first the army remained in control. Gradually the Cuban revolutionary army was disbanded. Railways, bridges and public buildings injured during the war were repaired or rebuilt under **American Rule in Cuba** supervision. Hundreds of schools were opened, the cities were thoroughly cleansed and sewers were constructed. In June, 1900, the people in the cities and larger towns were allowed to elect their own municipi-

pal governments. In July the American military governor, Leonard Wood, summoned a constitutional convention, which drafted a constitution modelled largely after that of the United States.

Meanwhile, on March 2, 1901, the American Congress passed a resolution, known as the Platt Amendment from its author, Senator O. H. Platt, of Connecticut, which fixed the conditions under which the American troops would evacuate Cuba, after the new government should be formed.

Cuba must agree to permit no foreign control; contract no debts the interest on which can not be paid out of the current revenues; must recognise our right to intervene to protect Cuban independence or to maintain a government competent to protect life, liberty and property, and it must recognise all the international obligations entered into on behalf of Cuba by the United States at the Treaty of Paris. Cuba must furthermore ratify the acts of the American military government, protect all rights acquired thereunder, continue to improve city sanitation, give the United States certain coaling and naval stations and finally, adjust the title of the United States to the Isle of Pines.

The first President elected under the new constitution was Tomas Estrada y Palma, who for years had been a school-master in the United States. In May, 1902, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down and the Cuban tricolour rose in its place. The American military governor, with his soldiers, sailed for home, with the farewell cheers of the Cuban populace.

For four years there was comparative quiet, but in August, 1906, an insurrection broke out. In response to an appeal by President Palma, the United States intervened, after an unsuccessful effort to mediate between the Cuban government and the insurgents. A commission appointed by the President of the United States took charge until January, 1909, when a new President was elected and the Cubans were again left to themselves.

As an independent nation they have been fairly prosperous, especially since the signing of a reciprocity treaty with the United States, whereby the two

countries make special exceptions in favour of each other in their tariffs. The population is now a little over 2,300,000, of which a good deal over half a million is black. The chief resources are tobacco, sugar, coffee, tropical fruits, asphalt, copper and cattle.

The promise regarding Cuba was fulfilled to the letter. But no such promise, or resolution, had been made regarding

any other territories that might come into possession of the United States as a result of the war. Many were in favour

of doing for Porto Rico and the Philippines what had been done for Cuba, but it was finally decided to establish permanent governments there under the American flag. The Porto Ricans accepted American sovereignty passively. The government there is vested in a Governor, appointed by the President, and a legislature with an upper and a lower house. The latter is composed entirely of natives elected by the people. In the upper house the members are chiefly Americans, many of them heads of departments, appointed by the President. Thus the Americans retain the control over one house. The Porto Ricans, therefore, do not actually govern their own country.

The towns are entirely self-governing, but the chief of police is an American, controlling a force of seven hundred men, most of whom are natives. The population is only about 1,200,000, with about the same proportion of black and white as in Cuba. The resources are also similar to those of Cuba, but Porto Rico has not increased its production since American occupation. In 1915 the exports to this country amounted to over \$42,000,000. At the present time, in 1916, there is a strong agitation, participated in by the American residents as well as by the natives, in favour of organising Porto Rico into a territory of the United States, on the same basis as Hawaii and Alaska.

In the Philippines there was more difficulty. Strangely enough, the turbulent Mohammedans in Mindanao gave the least trouble. Through the diplomacy of the American army officers, the Moros made a treaty whereby they accepted American occupation, and there has been

little trouble since. The Christianised Tagalogs in Luzon resisted American occupation most strongly. The insurgents under Aguinaldo remained in their trenches around Manila, for a time even taking those positions left by the Americans when they entered Manila, so that they had the city completely surrounded.

Finally, on February 4, 1899, an American sentry fired on a passing Filipino and open hostilities broke out. Gradually the Filipinos were driven back, and before the end of March the Americans, under General Otis, were ready to advance. In a week they had taken Malolos, the capital of the Filipino Republic, of which Aguinaldo was President. Their next capital was at San Isidro. When that was taken, Aguinaldo made his next stand at Tarlac and when the Americans reached that point, Aguinaldo retired to the mountains and resorted to guerilla warfare.

Finally General Funston, accompanied by a company of renegade Filipinos, disguised as Filipino insurgents, penetrated to Aguinaldo's mountain fastness. One of the renegade officers, a man whom Aguinaldo trusted, represented himself as the captain of the company bringing an American prisoner. Aguinaldo received the supposed prisoner cordially, but the moment his back was turned, Funston gave the order to fire, Aguinaldo's guard was dispersed and he was taken prisoner. This practically ended the insurrection and the Philippines were completely under American control.

While the question of ultimate independence for the Filipinos has never been decided, the policy of the United States has been to give the natives an ever increasing share in the government of the islands. In the time of the Spaniards the natives had no voice. Now they have practically self-government in their villages and towns and a large share in the legislative, judicial and executive branches of the central government. This share of control has been greatly increased.

The Governor is appointed by the President. The legislature consisted of the Commission, or upper house, and the assembly. The Commission was composed



MONSTER AMERICAN STEAM SHOVEL IN POSITION TO TAKE A "BITE"



WEST INDIAN NEGROES AT WORK ON THE CULEBRA CUT

SCENES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PANAMA CANAL

The construction of the Panama Canal was the greatest physical undertaking the world has ever seen. When finished, it had a length of about forty-nine miles, sixteen of which run through Gatun Lake, and it will have a minimum depth of 41 feet when all dredging is completed. The most important engineering feat in this huge enterprise is the Culebra cut, which necessitated cutting through a hill seven miles long. The bulk of the manual labour was done by West Indian negroes.



THE KROONLAND PASSING THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

The Kroonland is one of the largest ships which has as yet passed through the Canal. This steamer was formerly in the transatlantic service, and carried on this trip a party of American business men on a tour around South America. The toll required to be paid for the passage was nearly \$10,000.



NIGHT TIME ON THE PANAMA CANAL

The Canal is brilliantly lighted at night so that ships may pass through during the whole of the twenty-four hours. This interesting and unusual picture shows the illumination at the Pedro Miguel Locks.

Pictures copyright, Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE OUTLYING TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Government of the Philippines

of four Americans and five Filipinos, appointed by the President. The assembly is composed of eighty-one Filipinos, elected by the people. Suffrage is granted to those who can read and write either English or Spanish, and who own property and pay taxes. Two delegates, one appointed by the Commission, the other by the assembly, represent the Islands in Congress, but they have no vote. The police judges are natives; so are half of the twenty-four judges of "the court of first instance." In 1916 an elective upper house was substituted for the Commission.

The government offices are filled by natives as rapidly as qualified applicants are found. Of 40,000 government employees, only 300 are now Americans. Even in the government printing office over ninety per cent. of the employees are natives. The most prominent feature of American administration has been the schoolhouses. To-day there is a school in every village. There are nine thousand school teachers in the islands, of whom only three hundred are Americans. The pupils number 700,000.

Even those Filipinos who desire absolute independence do not deny that our administration of the Philippines has

Resources of the Islands

brought a new era of prosperity to its people. Railways and highways and bridges have been built, facilitating commerce and business in general. The chief resources are hemp, tobacco, sugar, rice, corn, timber, some gold and iron. The forests, of valuable hardwood timber, cover forty thousand square miles. The value of the cultivated crops comes up close to \$80,000,000 a year. The population in 1913 was estimated at a little over 8,800,000, of which only about 25,000 are white, including the troops.

Though not really a part of the Philippines, Guam may be classed with them as coming into our possession at the same time and for the same reason. The population, also Malay, is only about 10,000, and the problem of government has never been a serious one. In fact, Guam is merely a naval station and, like Samoa, is governed by the naval officer in command of the station.

There remains now only one more of

our foreign possessions to consider, the canal strip across the Isthmus of Panama. This, fortunately, is not a story of blood and war. And because the canal zone runs through the Republic of Panama, we may consider that little nation, practically created by the United States, at the same time.

The Republic of Panama is only about 32,000 square miles in area, though it embraces nearly all of the Isthmus. Its combined coast line, on both oceans, amounts to about 1200 miles. Both shores are studded with islands and indented with bays. A backbone of mountains runs through the length of the country, rising into lofty peaks at some points and again sinking to low elevations, as at Culebra, through which the canal was dug. It is of special interest to know now that the early Spanish navigators who first visited the Isthmus saw the possibility of joining the two oceans together.

Naturally this narrow neck of land between the two continents became an important trade route between the Atlantic colonies and the Pacific colonies of Spain, and between Spain and the Pacific colonies. It was to plunder the rich store houses and treasures located here that the old-time pirates and buccaneers so often raided the Isthmus.

On June 28, 1902, Congress authorised the President to acquire a strip of land across the Isthmus, not less than six miles wide, for the purpose of building a canal. Negotiations were opened with Colombia, which then included the Isthmus within her territory. Colombia practically refused to grant the required concession, whereupon the people on the Isthmus revolted and declared themselves an independent republic. As it was impossible for Colombia to march an army through the wild, mountainous country intervening between her capital and Panama she attempted to transport troops by sea. Here the United States interfered and prevented the landing of troops on the Isthmus.

Negotiations were then opened with the Republic of Panama and a treaty was made granting the required concession. Thus the United States gained control of a canal zone, ten miles wide, for which



THE MAIN STREET IN SITKA, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF ALASKA

Panama was to be paid ten million dollars and an annuity of a quarter of a million, the first payment to be made nine years after the treaty was signed. By a later arrangement certain rights in the waters of Colon and Panama at the ends of the canal, and some degree of control over the towns themselves were granted. The United States has guaranteed the peace and defense of the Republic of Panama, on the strength of which promise it has disbanded its army. The population in 1911 amounted to 386,000, including 36,000 Indians.

In the canal zone itself there were about 50,000 people in 1911, chiefly Americans and Jamaican negroes employed in building the canal. With the

completion of the work this number has been reduced to a few hundred, to which may be added less than ten thousand natives residing within the Zone itself. To protect the canal, the United States, in 1917, purchased from Denmark for \$25,000,000 three of the Virgin Islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John.

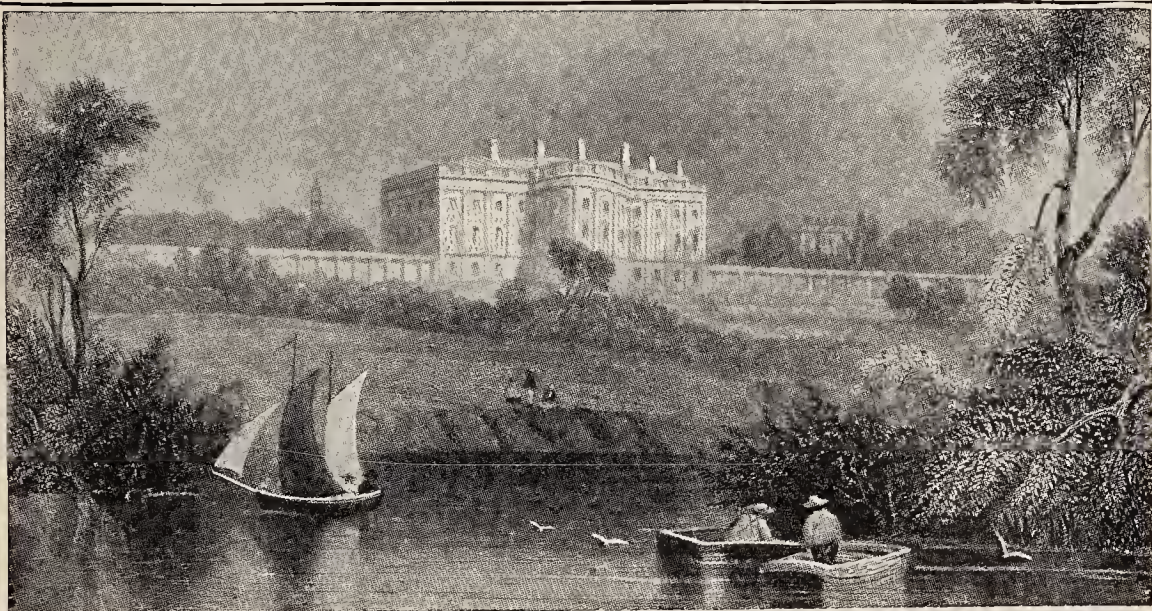
Extent of American Territory It is the boast of the British that the sun never sets on British soil. It is also true that daylight never fades on the American flag. For long before the sun has set across the China Sea from the Philippines, the dawn of a summer morning is lighting the rock-bound coast of Maine.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.



A VOLCANIC ISLAND OF RECENT ORIGIN NEAR FORT WRANGELL

NOTABLE CITIES OF THE
UNITED STATES
SCENES OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT



THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE SIXTY YEARS AGO

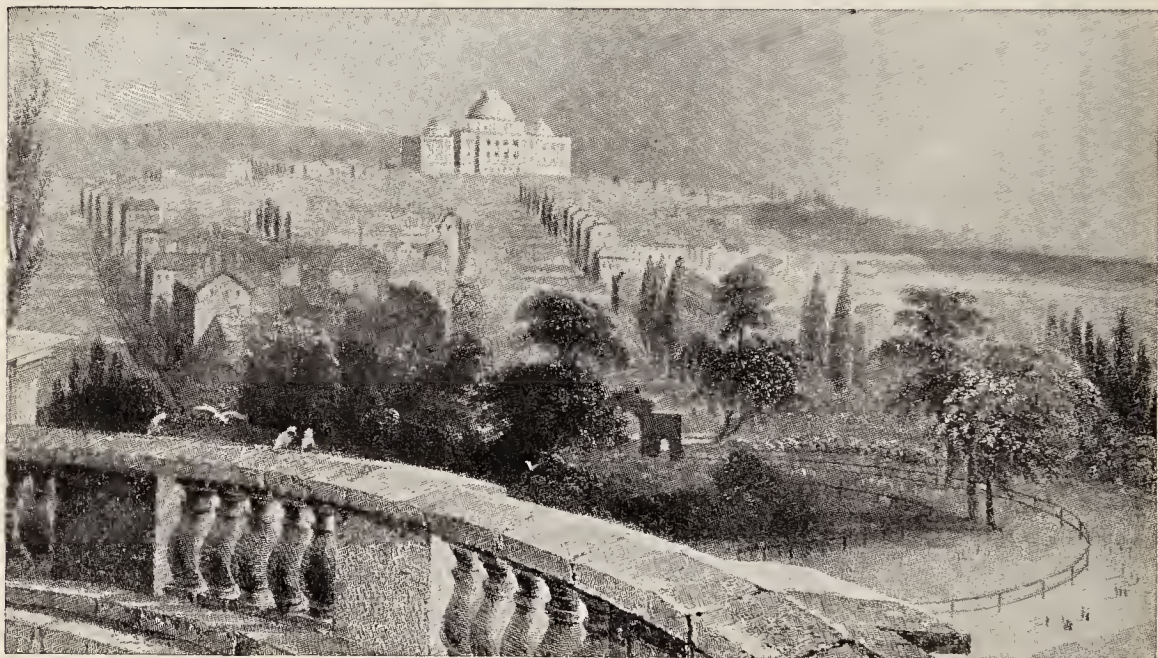


THE HOUSE OF THE PRESIDENT AS IT IS TO-DAY

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THE STATELY CAPITOL, HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT



A SCENE OF SEVENTY YEARS AGO: LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOL



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WASHINGTON, THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



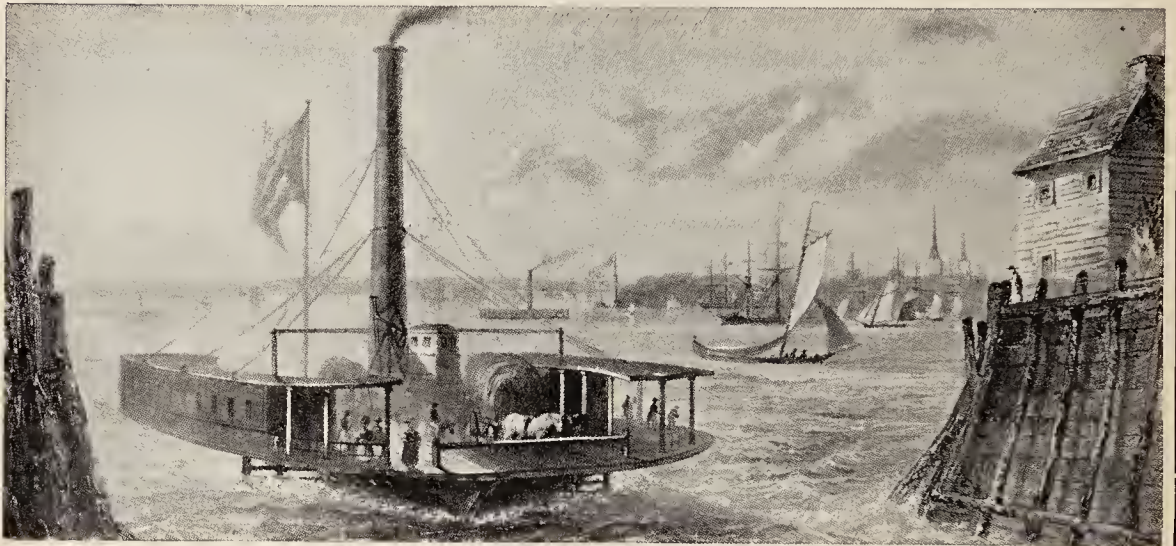
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF UNION STOCK YARDS



AN EVERYDAY SCENE IN STATE STREET
CHICAGO, THE SECOND LARGEST CITY IN AMERICA



NEW YORK BAY FROM TELEGRAPH STATION



HOW BROOKLYN FERRY LOOKED FIFTY YEARS AGO



THE OLD CITY HALL, WITH THE PARK IN THE FOREGROUND
NEW YORK AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR



CORNER OF WALL AND NASSAU STREETS



BROADWAY, THE CHIEF THOROUGHFARE



THE SKY LINE OF LOWER NEW YORK FROM THE HUDSON RIVER



"TIMES" BUILDING ON AN ELECTION NIGHT



BROADWAY AND THIRTY-FOURTH STREET

SCENES IN NEW YORK, THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE UNITED STATES



STATE STREET, BOSTON'S MAIN THOROUGHFARE, IN THE SIXTIES



BOSTON HARBOUR, WITH BUNKER HILL ON THE RIGHT



A QUAIN CORNER IN THE OLD CITY
BOSTON AS IT WAS IN THE EARLY SIXTIES



THE OLD STATE HOUSE



OLD SOUTH CHURCH



TREMONT STREET, ONE OF THE LEADING THOROUGHFARES
BOSTON, THE CENTRE OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND EDUCATION



RUINS OF THE HALL OF JUSTICE



THE DEVASTATION OF TELEGRAPH HILL



A STRIKING SCENE OF DESTRUCTION



OVERLOOKING KEARNY STREET

SAN FRANCISCO: SCENES IN THE RUINED CITY



UNION SQUARE, WITH ST. FRANCIS HOTEL



NEWSPAPER SQUARE



MARKET AND KEARNY STREETS



TYPICAL BUILDINGS OF THE NEW CITY

SAN FRANCISCO: THE REMAKING OF THE CITY



THE IMPOSING NEW MORMON TABERNACLE



MAIN STREET, THE PRINCIPAL BUSINESS STREET IN THE CITY
SALT LAKE CITY, THE CENTRAL SEAT OF MORMON POWER

The History of Canada

BY

W. S. WALLACE, M. A. (OXON.)

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"Ontario Since Confederation;" Associate Editor
Historical Publications Relating to Canada**

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

W. L. GRANT, M. A.

Professor of History, Queen's University

TO WHICH IS ADDED

Newfoundland

The Oldest British Colony

AND

The West Indies

INTRODUCTION

“THE history of the world since Vasco de Gama and Columbus is the history of colonisation,” writes M. Gabriel Hanotaux. Even if we consider M. Hanotaux to have fallen into the historian’s vice of undue simplification, his statement at least lays hold on one of the main clues to the interpretation of the past and therefore of the present. Glory, gain, and the Gospel were the motives which swept on the Spanish *conquistadores* in Mexico and Peru, the French in Canada and Louisiana, the English on the Atlantic sea-board, and though the Gospel has assumed a new form, the Germans of to-day.

From this point of view the history of Canada links up with that of the world, and cannot be studied save in connection with that of three mighty nations, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The story of New France is known to all readers of Parkman, but our history under the British régime, and our manifold interactions with the development of the Great Republic, have sometimes been ludicrously disregarded by historians, and sometimes still more ludicrously travestied. A generation of American school-books, reproducing the animus of Bancroft without his genius, taught the American youth that Great Britain had invariably been grasping, unscrupulous and tyrannical. A generation of Canadian school-books, reproducing the animus of the Loyalists without their excuse, taught the Canadian youth that the United States had invariably been greedy, dishonest and cruel. On both sides a saner spirit has now come, big with hopes for the future. That on the Great Lakes the example of international disarmament was set, that from St. Andrews to Victoria no fortress scowls on either side of the border, that we have just celebrated the first Hundred Years of Peace, proves that other and nobler forces have been at work than British complacency and American spread-eagleism. From the Canadian point of view this saner view is well expressed in Mr. Wallace’s pages.

The relations of Canada to the Mother Country have also been at times misrepresented. Doubtless there were growing pains; doubtless a heavy indictment may be drawn up against Downing Street, as against any other long-lived institution. But compare the Canada of to-day and her relations to the British Empire with the American colonies of the eighteenth century; consider how the conception of obedience in return for protection grew into that of colonial autonomy, and that in turn into the ideal of daughter states; and we must feel that at the heart of British statesmen there lay a deep unconscious wisdom which is justified to-day.

But the Canadian would be false to his country who saw in her only the meeting of outside forces. Gradually a Canadian nationalism is growing, a resolve to make North America a two-power continent. This is the chief force in shaping Canadian public opinion to-day, and it is the task of British statesmen to merge it in a wider unity.

Mr. Wallace represents the best school of Canadian historians. Trained first at the University of Toronto and afterwards at Oxford, spending his spare moments in the Archives Building at Ottawa, which Dr. Doughty has made the Mecca of all Canadian and of many American historians, he is admirably equipped for his task, and seems to me to have fulfilled it with admirable spirit and discrimination. His crisp style, his restrained touch of caustic humour, have made it possible for me to read him with interest, even in manuscript. He is moderate without being dull, avoiding alike the mistake of the school of historians who think that they have attained impartiality when they have only achieved dulness, and that of those who confuse point with the stiletto.

W. L. GRANT.

QUEEN’S UNIVERSITY,
KINGSTON, CANADA.
15th August, 1915.



THE STATUE OF CHAMPLAIN AT QUEBEC

Samuel de Champlain was born at Brouage, Saintonge, France, in 1567, founded Quebec in 1608, and died there in 1635. Few men have represented the finest qualities of their nation as well as he. This spirited statue by Paul Chevre, unveiled in 1898, stands on Dufferin Terrace, near the Château Frontenac Hotel.

Photograph by Notman, Montreal.

AMERICA



CANADA

I

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF CANADA

THE PERIOD OF EXPLORATION WHICH HAS NOT YET ENDED

"THE Discovery of America," wrote the American historian, John Fiske, "has been a gradual process."

**Canada Not
Yet Entirely
Explored**

The remark has perhaps the air of a truism; and yet it needed to be made. It was a corrective to the tendency to make too much of Christopher Columbus and the year 1492. In the same way, emphasis should be laid upon the fact that Canada was not discovered in any one year, or by any one man. The process has been going on for centuries, and is even yet not complete. All sorts and conditions of men have had a hand in it—sailors, priests, fur-traders, fishermen, scientists and sportsmen. It has been a heroic and, at times, a dramatic struggle. Many a crooked line has been traced on the maps only at the cost of incredible privations, and sometimes of human lives. Unfortunately it is not possible to tell the story in all its details; all that can be done is to give the reader a faint idea of what has gone to the making of the Map of Canada.

THE MARINE EXPLORERS

Just when the first European sailors reached the shores of Canada, it is difficult to say with certainty. The ancients had tales of an island named Atlantis, far out in the Western Sea; and the people of Ireland and the west of England long ago told of fabulous islands beyond the sinking sun. It is barely possible that these, and similar legends may have had their origin in voyages to the New World of which there is no other record. There has always been a good deal of blowing and drifting on the high seas of which the world has known nothing; and it is not

**Fabulous Tales
of Early
Discoveries**

absolutely impossible, for instance, that the Phœnicians, who certainly sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic, may have blundered on the coast of North America. In the absence of positive evidence, however, the idea can only be regarded as a conjecture.

The first visitors to Canada of whom we have any historical record were the Northmen. These fair-haired pirates,

**The Sagas
of the
Norsemen**

who were of the same race as the marauders who gave Alfred the Great so much trouble in England, and who wrested Normandy from Charles the Simple of France, had colonised in the ninth century the Island of Iceland. From there they found their way, in their open boats,—“dragons” they were called—to Greenland; and from Greenland they found their way, about the year 1000, to the northeastern coast of North America, to part of which they gave the name of Vinland. They seem to have attempted, unsuccessfully, to found a colony in Vinland; though it must be confessed that no genuine archaeological remains of any such colony have been found.

The record of the Norse voyages to Vinland is contained, for the most part, in two Icelandic sagas—poetic tales reduced to writing many years after the events which they purport to describe. The reliability of these sagas is a matter on which there is at present profound disagreement among scholars. Some excellent authorities, such as Fridtjof Nansen, the Arctic explorer, believe that the stories of the sagas are almost wholly mythical; while other scholars, no less distinguished, place in the details of the sagas such reliance that they attempt to identify, by means of reference

to plants or physical features, the localities visited by the Northmen. The question is one of great difficulty and complexity; and perhaps, failing the discovery of any archaeological evidence, we shall never be certain as to just where Vinland was. But about the bare fact that the Northmen visited what are now the shores of British North America, nearly five hundred years before the time of Columbus and Cabot, there can be no reasonable doubt.

The Norse voyages to America were barren of results for two reasons. In the first place, news of the discovery of Vinland did not reach Southern Europe; and in the second place the destruction by the Eskimos, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of the Norse settlements in Greenland (the ruins of which are still standing on that bleak and desolate coast) snapped the frail link which bound the Old World to the New. When the sailors of the fifteenth century, therefore, set out to discover America anew, they knew nothing of the bold sea-farers who had preceded them.

So far as practical results were concerned, the first discoverer of Canada was John Cabot. John Cabot, whose real name was Giovanni Caboto (of which John Cabot is merely the Anglicised form), was a compatriot and contemporary of Christopher Columbus. He had entered, when a young man, the service of a Venetian mercantile house, and in pursuit of his business had gone east as far as Mecca. From the caravan-drivers he gained some idea of the great distance from which they had brought their silks and spices; and he conceived the idea, independently of Columbus, of sailing westward to the country where the spices grew.

He came to England, obtained the backing of the English King and the merchants of Bristol, and set out on his quest for the coast of Asia.

The First Voyage of John Cabot At first he had ill success. The north Atlantic is a turbulent body of water; and year after year he was driven back by wind and fog. But when news came that Christopher Columbus had reached the Indies further south, Cabot plucked

up new heart, and in 1497 set out in the *Matthew*, with a crew of eighteen men, on the voyage which was to bring him out on the mainland of North America



JOHN CABOT AND HIS SON SEBASTIAN
From a model by John Cassidy

— one year before Columbus reached the mainland of the continent further south. Just where he made his landfall is a matter of dispute. Probably he landed on Cape Breton; but the evidence is so unsatisfactory that no definite conclusion can be reached.

His elation at reaching, as he thought, the goal of his ambition was great. On his return to England he was rewarded by Henry VII with a gift of £10, and a large fleet was promised him for

The Second Voyage of the Cabots an expedition the next spring. He took upon himself the title of Admiral;

“nor does my Lord the Admiral,” wrote an observer, “esteem himself less than a prince;” and he promised islands and bishoprics with a generous hand to those who would accompany him. Eventually, however, he set sail in the spring of 1498 with only two ships. This second expedition proved to

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF CANADA

him a great disappointment. He coasted down the shores of North America from Newfoundland to Chesapeake Bay; but nowhere did he find a trace of the silks and spices of which he was in search. His expedition was a financial failure. On his return to England the merchants of Bristol withdrew their support from a venture which ate up so much capital, and showed such small profits; and soon afterwards John Cabot seems to have died, broken-hearted and forgotten.

But if John Cabot did not find in North America the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind, he led the way to a source of wealth more inexhaustible, the American fisheries. His son, Sebastian Cabot, a young man with a vivid imagination, said, on his return to England, that the codfish on the banks of Newfoundland were so numerous "they sumtymes stayed his shippes." This son brought out to the Newfoundland the hardy fishermen of the west of England and the Basque and Breton ports; and from 1504 on probably not a year elapsed in which the fishing fleet did not come out from Europe to the banks. When all other communication between the Old World and the New ceased to exist, the fishing fleet remained a permanent bond of connection.

Where John Cabot had led the way, other explorers followed. In 1501 Gaspar Corte-Real, a Portuguese from the

Portuguese and French Explorers Azores, coasted along the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador; and in 1520, João

Alvarez Fagundez, another Portuguese, explored the coast of Nova Scotia, and sailed northward to Newfoundland. Gradually, people came to realise that North America was not Asia, as Cabot and Columbus had thought; and the aim of explorers came to be to discover a passage through or around America to "the country of the Great Khan." With this object in view, a French expedition under Giovanni da Verrazano sailed up the coast of North America from North Carolina to Newfoundland in 1524, exploring the seaboard of what are now the maritime provinces of Canada; and in 1527, John Rut, an officer of the incipient Royal Navy of Henry VIII of England, in an attempt to go "farther to the west," suf-

fered the shipwreck of one of his ships near the Strait of Belle Isle. ✓

Curiously enough, none of these explorers discovered the existence of that great waterway about which so much of

Captain Jacques Cartier of St. Malo Canadian history centres, the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. That honour was reserved for

Jacques Cartier, a hardy sea-captain of St. Malo in Brittany. In 1534, acting



JACQUES CARTIER OF ST. MALO

Jacques Cartier, a Breton sea-captain, gave to France her claim to the St. Lawrence valley. He ascended the river to the site of Montreal, and spent a winter near Quebec.

under a commission from the King of France, Cartier sailed through the Strait of Belle Isle into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It has been said that he discovered the Strait of Belle Isle; but it is certain that the strait was well known before 1534. Indeed, Cartier himself found a fishing-boat inside the Strait looking for the harbour of "Brest" — clear proof that Breton fishermen had already frequented the locality. Cartier sailed across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, explored the Bay of Chaleur, followed the shore of the Gaspé peninsula westward as far as the Island of Anticosti and returned to France. On the Gaspé peninsula he erected, as a sign of the French occupation of the country, a cross thirty feet high, bearing a shield with the fleur-de-lys of France and the

legend: VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE. When the Indians, with whom he came into contact here, objected to this totem, he assured them that it was merely a mark of navigation.

The next year (1535) Cartier set sail for the New World with three ships. The largest of these, however, was only

The Exploration of the St. Lawrence

one hundred and twenty-six tons burden; and the entire company numbered only one hundred and

twenty. After passing the Strait of Belle Isle, Cartier sailed westward past Anticosti into the River St. Lawrence. Near an Indian village, where Quebec now stands, he left his two largest ships; while he proceeded further up the river in the smallest. From the mountain on the island at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, to which he gave the name of Mont Royal (now corrupted to Montreal), he obtained a glimpse of what is to-day the Province of Ontario; but he did not attempt to go above the Lachine Rapids. He had apparently the sailor's dread of leaving his ships.

The winter, which proved to be a severe one, was spent in the neighbourhood of Quebec. So many of his men died of scurvy, a common disease of the day, that when he set sail for France in the spring, he was able to man only two of his ships. On his way back he passed out to the Atlantic to the southward of Newfoundland, thus demonstrating the fact that it was an island.

A number of years later (1541) Cartier again visited Canada. On this occasion, however, he was under instructions from

The First Attempt to Found a Colony

a court favourite, the Sieur de Roberval, who had been created "Lord of Norumbega, Viceroy

and Lieutenant-General of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Rapont, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos." Roberval, who was to follow Cartier, failed to make an appearance; and Cartier, after waiting for him a good part of a year, returned to France. While waiting for Roberval, Cartier again ascended the St. Lawrence to the island of Montreal and spent another wretched winter near Quebec; but he added nothing to his discoveries.

The voyages of Verrazano and Cartier were the result of attempts to find "the westward passage" to China. Other, and perhaps no less important, results were achieved by the endeavour to find what came to be known as "the north-western passage." From early times there had been rumours of a sea lying to the north of Labrador. Sebastian Cabot had testified to the existence there of an open sea "without any manner of impediment;" and the entrance to the sea is clearly marked on a Portuguese map of 1570. In 1602 an English sailor named George Weymouth penetrated fully one hundred leagues into what is now known as Hudson Strait, and so prepared the way for Henry Hudson, the first man to sail through Hudson Strait to Hudson Bay and the first man to explore the shores of that great inland sea.

Henry Hudson was an obscure English sea-captain, about whose early years nothing is known. When he came to

Henry Hudson Finds Hudson Bay

make the voyage to Hudson Bay, however, he had already an honourable record as an explorer.

He had made two voyages in the service of the Muscovy Company to the North of Europe in an attempt to find a north-eastern passage to Asia; and in the service of the Dutch East India Company he had crossed the Atlantic, had entered what is now New York harbour, and had discovered and explored the Hudson River, which is named after him, in an attempt to find the westward route to Asia. On his return from this third voyage, he saw at Amsterdam the log-books of George Weymouth; and he came to the conclusion that the strait which Weymouth had entered led the way to the southern sea which washed the shores of Asia.

He obtained the support of some English merchant adventurers; and in 1610 he set sail in the *Discovery*, a small ship of only fifty-five tons, and with a crew of twenty-three men, on his last and most famous voyage. With great difficulty he beat his way through Hudson Strait, his frail cockle-shell of a boat escaping destruction on the ice as by a miracle. When he sailed into Hudson Bay, he thought he had reached the

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF CANADA

South Sea of which he was in search; but a closer examination of the bay proved that there was no westward outlet. He and his men were forced to winter on the southern shores of the bay, and to turn their prow homewards in the spring with a sadly depleted stock of food.

great privations, in making their way through Hudson Strait; but when the *Discovery* reached the coast of Ireland, only four of her crew remained alive. It was from them that the world learned of the discovery of Hudson Bay.

The failure of Henry Hudson to find the northwest passage did not discour-



HENRY HUDSON ABANDONED BY HIS CREW IN HUDSON BAY

From the painting by John Collier

What followed was pure tragedy. The crew, finding that famine stared them in the face, mutinied. They seized Hudson and his young son, and putting them into an open boat with those of the crew who were in hospital, they turned them adrift. The last glimpse that history vouchsafes us of Henry Hudson is of the iron-souled old mariner standing up in the open boat, and shaking his fist at the mutineers as the white-winged *Discovery* disappeared in the distance. What happened to him after that remains a secret of the wilderness and the sea. The mutineers succeeded, after

age others from trying to find it. In 1612 Thomas Button, with Hudson's *Discovery* and the frigate *Resolution*, explored Hudson Bay, partly in a fruitless attempt to find Hudson, and partly in an endeavour to sail farther west. In 1615 the *Discovery* made a third trip to Hudson Strait, this time with William Baffin as pilot. In 1619 two Danish vessels under Jens Munck penetrated to Hudson Bay, and wintered at Churchill Harbour. During the winter, however, the crews were carried off by scurvy, and in the spring Munck crept home with one ves-

The Tragedy in Hudson Bay

Other Attempts to find the Northwest Passage

sel manned by two men. Later on, in 1631, Luke Foxe and Thomas James also explored Hudson Bay, and also failed to find an outlet to the west. But if none of these expeditions succeeded in solving the riddle of the northwest passage, they nevertheless achieved great and important results. They made known another central feature of the geography of Canada; and they made possible that trade which was to bear fruit later on in the greatest trading corporation of modern times, the Hudson's Bay Company.

THE PATHFINDERS OF NEW FRANCE

During the latter half of the sixteenth century France was occupied, to the exclusion of nearly all else, by the religious wars arising out of the Reformation; and

it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that any attempt was made to follow up the discoveries made by Jacques Cartier. But when the close of the religious wars did permit Frenchmen to turn their attention to the New World again, they did it to good purpose; and the new period saw the colonisation of Canada and the exploration of her inland territories as far west as the foothills of the Rockies.

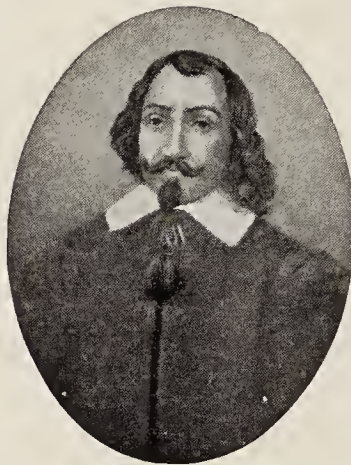
The first name of importance in this new period was that of Samuel de Champlain. Champlain was one of the great figures in the history of New France —

Neglect of Canada by France
Champlain the "Father of New France"

so great that he has been styled, not without reason, the "Father of New France." Nowhere was he greater than in his work as an explorer. He was not only a man of action, he was a scholar and scientist as well; and the books in which he left behind him an account of his journeys compare favourably with other books of scientific travel. The calibre of his mind may be seen from the fact that on one of his voyages to Central America, when a young man, he suggested the building of the Panama Canal — an un-

dertaking which has been accomplished only within the twentieth century. His first visit to Canada was as Geographer Royal in the expedition of De Monts in 1604; and on this occasion he did some good work in exploring the sea-board of Nova Scotia and Maine. Later he transferred his attention to the valley of the St. Lawrence, and in 1608 he founded the *Habitation* of Quebec. It was from Quebec as his base that he made the journeys on which his fame as an explorer rests, and which were to lay bare the geography of a considerable part of the St. Lawrence basin.

His first explorations were undertaken in the neighbourhood of the Richelieu River and that lake which still bears his name. But his chief interest, like that of all the early explorers, lay in finding the route to Asia. With that object in view, he sent two young men up the Ottawa River to live with the Indians, and to report on what they heard and saw. The first of these was Etienne Brûlé, one of the original settlers at Quebec, who was destined to be the discoverer of a vast territory stretching from Lake Superior to Chesapeake Bay; the other was Nicolas de Vignau. In 1612 Vignau returned with a circumstantial story of having reached a great "Sea of the



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

When Quebec was taken by the British, in 1629, he was carried to England, but on the restoration of Canada to the French, in 1632, he was re-appointed governor.

North," seventeen days' journey from the Grand Sault. He had himself, he said, seen the wreck of an English ship, and had talked with an English lad who had survived the shipwreck.

This fitted in very well with the story told by the survivors of Henry Hudson's expedition to Hudson Bay, who had returned to England the year before; and Champlain resolved to visit the Sea of the North

himself. In the spring of 1613 he set out with two canoes up the Ottawa. On his way he made copious notes as to the flora and fauna and natural features of the river; and everywhere he took careful observations. It is interesting to know that on a portage near the present

Champlain Seeks the Way to Asia

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF CANADA

town of Renfrew he lost his astrolabe, and that it was turned up by a farmer ploughing the land in 1867. When he reached the Indian village on Allumette Island, he made an unwelcome discovery. He found that Nicolas de Vignau, far from visiting the Sea of the North, had never stirred from the wigwams of the village, and that his story was a fabrication. There was no object to be gained by going further; and in anger and disgust he retraced his way down the Ottawa. Vignau he cast off: "We left him," he says grimly, "in God's keeping."

In 1615 Champlain returned to the attack. This time, however, he did not attempt to reach the Sea of the North,

Further Explorations by Champlain but merely followed the Huron Indians to their hunting-grounds. An advance party consisting of

a Récollet priest and twelve Frenchmen accompanied the Hurons; and Champlain followed later with Etienne Brûlé, who by this time had mastered a number of the Indian dialects, and who had acquired a considerable knowledge of the territories through which Champlain was to pass. The two parties ascended the Ottawa, crossed over to Lake Nipissing, descended the French River, and passed down through the myriad islands of the Georgian Bay to a Huron village, near the site of Penetanguishene. From the Huron country Champlain then accompanied a war party up the Severn River to Lake Simcoe, and thence by way of Sturgeon Lake down the Trent valley to Lake Ontario. The party then crossed Lake Ontario, and plunged into what is now Northern New York State.

From a military standpoint, the expedition was a failure; and Champlain and his Indian allies were compelled to beat a retreat to the north shore of Lake Ontario. From there Champlain wished to return to Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence, but the Hurons refused to lend him an escort; and he was compelled to return by way of the Georgian Bay, Lake Nipissing, and the Ottawa. Whatever may have been the political and military results of the expedition, and these were not all fortunate, from a geographical standpoint the journey marked a great step in advance. It re-

vealed the natural features of a good part of what is to-day the province of Ontario; and if it did not reveal the route to the Western Sea, it nevertheless laid the foundation of future discoveries, by making accessible the Huron country as a base of operations for missionaries and traders.

Champlain deserves some of the credit, moreover, for the discoveries of his protégé and interpreter, Etienne Brûlé. It was he who sent Brûlé southward in 1615 to the country of the Eries, possibly by way of the future site of Toronto and the great falls of Niagara; and when Brûlé returned, after having penetrated as far south as Chesapeake Bay, Champlain encouraged him to continue his explorations. The result was that Brûlé was first to visit the copper-mines of Lake Superior.

The next great step in advance was taken nearly half a century after Champlain's journey, by two French fur-traders, Pierre Esprit Radisson and his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers. Of the achievements of these two men almost nothing was known until a little over a quarter of a century ago, when Radisson's own account of his explorations came to light in a house in London which had once belonged to Samuel Pepys. *The Voyages of Pierre Esprit Radisson* is one of the most extraordinary documents in the entire range of historical literature. Written in grotesque and sometimes unintelligible English, with a disregard for dates and distances which contrasts strongly with the detailed accuracy of Champlain's narratives, it is, nevertheless, a story of vivid and compelling interest. It tells how, in 1658, the two brothers-in-law, in quest of furs, penetrated to Green Bay, on the west shore of Lake Michigan, and from there struck inland until they reached "the great river that divides itself in two."

There seems to be little doubt that this was the Upper Mississippi, which Radisson and Groseilliers were the first men to see. The next year the two traders visited Lake Superior; and in 1660 they returned to

The Mississippi Possibly Reached

GRACE MARSHALL

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GRACE MARSHALL

GRACE MARSHALL

the colony with a great cargo of furs, valued at 200,000 livres. The colony had been starved of furs by the Iroquois incursions; and Radisson and Groseilliers arrived just in time to save it from bankruptcy. In 1661 the two again made an expedition to the *pays d'en haut*, as the western country was called by the *coureurs-de-bois*.

They first established a trading-post at the western end of Lake Superior; and then they seem, in spite of some difficulties in the narrative, to have gone on to Hudson Bay, probably by way of the Albany River. "At last we came full sail from a deep bay . . . we came to the seaside, where we found an old house all demolished and battered with bullets. . . . They (the Indians) told us about Europeans. . . . We went from isle to isle all that summer." On the shores of Hudson Bay they obtained a vast cargo of furs; and when they reached the St. Lawrence again, they doubtless regarded their fortunes as already made. But the Governor of New France, on the ground that they had traded without a license, mulcted them of a large fraction of their profits; and a good deal of the rest of their money was spent in Paris, in attempting to obtain redress.

Finally, in disgust at their treatment by the French government, they went over to the English, by whom they were called "Mr. Radishes" and "Mr. Gooseberry." Their tales of the wealth of fur on the shores of Hudson Bay led to the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company; and they led the first expeditions out to the bay. Throughout their lives their chief interest lay not in exploration, but in trade. But by leading the way to the valley of the Mississippi, and by demonstrating the possibilities of trade in the Great North-West and around Hudson Bay, they performed a service to geography of almost incalculable importance.

In the direction of the Mississippi the work of Radisson and Groseilliers was soon followed up by more thorough and scientific explorers. The expeditions of Joliet and Marquette and of LaSalle made the Mississippi valley part of New France, and so rendered possible the French dream of hemming the English

colonies in to the sea. But the Mississippi valley has long ceased to be part of Canada; and the story of its exploration, therefore, falls outside the scope of this sketch.

In the direction of the North-West, however, the work of Radisson and Groseilliers was followed up later by explorers whose story is part and parcel of Canadian history. First, at the end of the seventeenth century, came

Other Explorers of the West

Daniel Greysolon DuLhut, after whom the present city of Duluth is named. DuLhut was a French nobleman who came to Canada and heard the call of the West. He established a post near the site of Fort William on Lake Superior, and from there he explored the country north and west as far as Lake Winnipeg. Then, in the eighteenth century, the map was moved still further back by Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, and his band of heroic sons.

La Vérendrye was a French-Canadian soldier who had been stationed from 1728-1730 at the lonely trading-post of Nipigon on Lake Superior. There he had heard from the Indians tales of "a great

river flowing west" and of "a vast flat country devoid of timber" with "large herds of cattle." An old Indian had drawn for him on birch-bark maps showing rivers that emptied into the Western Sea. La Vérendrye became seized with the desire which had consumed so many others, to find the way to that sea. He went to Quebec, and obtained the approval of the Governor and the support of the merchants for a combined trading and exploring expedition to the unknown West.

He set out in 1732. He did not attempt to make, as Radisson and Groseilliers had done, a flying expedition into the wilderness; but he followed the plan of establishing a chain of trading-posts stretching to the westward, each of which served as a base for further operations. He established one first at Rainy Lake, then one at the Lake of the Woods, then one at Lake Winnipeg. He had difficulty in financing his venture, for the initial cost far exceeded the first profits, and the merchants who were backing him grew

La Verendrye Hears Indian Tales of the West

Radisson and Groseilliers

Join the English

July 28 1700. 12 2 1/2 3

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF CANADA

refractory. The Sioux, with whom he had come into contact, murdered his eldest son Jean and a number of his men. Yet he pressed on. At the Forks of the Assiniboine he established a rude post, the first building on the site of the City of Winnipeg. Still further west he established a trading-post at what is now Portage la Prairie. From this post he hoped to be able to reach the Western Sea.

His ambition was disappointed. A journey to the Mandan Indians on the Missouri yielded no hopeful information regarding salt water to the west; and expeditions in a north-westerly direction resulted in nothing more than the establishment of new trading-posts. Then, in 1740, La Vérendrye was compelled to return to Montreal to meet the creditors who had been assailing him in his absence. But while he was away, his sons, Pierre and François, succeeded, first of white men, in crossing the

The Rocky Mountains Are Reached Great Plains to the Rocky Mountains. In the spring of 1742, they made their way south to the Mandan villages on the Missouri; thence they struck west, passing from tribe to tribe, until on New Year's Day, 1743, they saw rising before them the foothills of the Rockies. Pierre de la Vérendrye pressed on with a war-party of the Bow Indians, and reached the main range; but there he was compelled to turn back. He had not come within a thousand miles of the Western Sea of which he was in search; but he had discovered the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, and he had brought the day of the first overland journey to the Pacific appreciably nearer.

New France showed small gratitude to the La Vérendryes for the services they had rendered it. Owing to his financial difficulties, the elder La Vérendrye was supplanted in the command of the western posts by a nominee of the Governor; and though it was soon found necessary to reinstate him, hardships and disappointment had so undermined his constitution that he died in 1749. On his death, the claims of his sons to succeed him were ignored. "We spent our youth and our property," wrote one of them, "in building up establishments so advantageous to Canada, and after all we were

doomed to see a stranger gather the fruit we had taken such pains to plant." The governmental favourites who succeeded to the command of the western posts not only, however, added nothing to the La Vérendryes' achievements, but were not even able to hold the ground they had won.

HUDSON BAY MEN AND NOR'-WESTERS

The Hudson's Bay Company, on its foundation by royal charter in 1670, re-



PRINCE RUPERT OF THE PALATINATE

Was the nephew of Charles I, and during the contest with Parliament, was the General of the army. He also served as Admiral. When the Hudson's Bay Company was formed in 1670, he became Governor.

ceived in feudal tenure the vast territories watered by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. Led by Radisson and Groseilliers, the agents of the Company established trading-posts at the mouths of the rivers in the bay, and entered into trading relations with the Indians. For many years, however, the servants of the Company made no attempt to penetrate into the interior, or to search further for a passage to the west. They were content if the Indians came down to the shores of the Bay to trade. In 1691, it is true, a London street-arab

The Great Hudson's Bay Company

named Henry Kelsey, who had entered the service of the Company, went with the Indians inland either to the Saskatchewan country or to what was afterwards known as the Muskrat country; but his object was merely to persuade the Indians to come down to the Bay in greater numbers, and his journey did not add anything to geographical knowledge. A generation later the Hudson's Bay Company sent out some expeditions by water to attempt once more to discover a north-west passage, and to investigate rumours of mineral wealth to the north-west of the Company's posts; but the first expedition, that of Governor Knight in 1719, came to grief on an island near Chesterfield Inlet, where the grisly remains of the expedition were found half a century later; and subsequent ventures, though not so tragic, were equally fruitless.

The Hudson's Bay Company's first considerable contribution to geographical knowledge resulted from the journey of Samuel Hearne in 1770-1771 to the mouth of the Coppermine River. Indian tales of vast deposits of copper far to the

**Samuel Hearne
and the
Coppermine**

north-west had become so persistent that the Hudson's Bay Company officials determined to send

out an overland expedition to investigate them. For this task they chose Hearne, a young Englishman with a smattering of scientific knowledge, who had been apprenticed to the Company as a lad. After making two false starts, Hearne set out from Fort Prince of Wales, at the mouth of the Churchill River, in the spring of 1770, and made his way westward and then northward across the barren lands until he reached the Coppermine River, where it flows into the Arctic Ocean.

Failing to find here any considerable deposits of copper, he turned back, struck southward to a great lake which he called "Lake Athapuscow," but which was probably Great Slave Lake, and from there worked eastward towards Hudson Bay. In the autumn of 1771, he reached Fort Prince of Wales. He had been absent over eighteen months, and in this time he had, first of white men, reached the Arctic Sea by an overland route, and he had traversed vast stretches of territory which to this day are virtually unexplored. Quite fittingly, his narrative of

the journey has become one of the classics of Canadian historical literature.

Almost simultaneously with Hearne's journey to the Coppermine, the Hudson's



SAMUEL HEARNE

Must always be remembered as an explorer of the great Canadian West. He reached regions never before trodden by the foot of a white man.

From an engraving in the Dominion Archives

Bay Company determined upon a radical departure with regard to their fur-trading operations. They had for some time suffered from the competition of the French fur-traders who had gone into the West in the wake of the La Vérendryes, and who were cutting off the Hudson Bay Trade at its source. In 1754 they

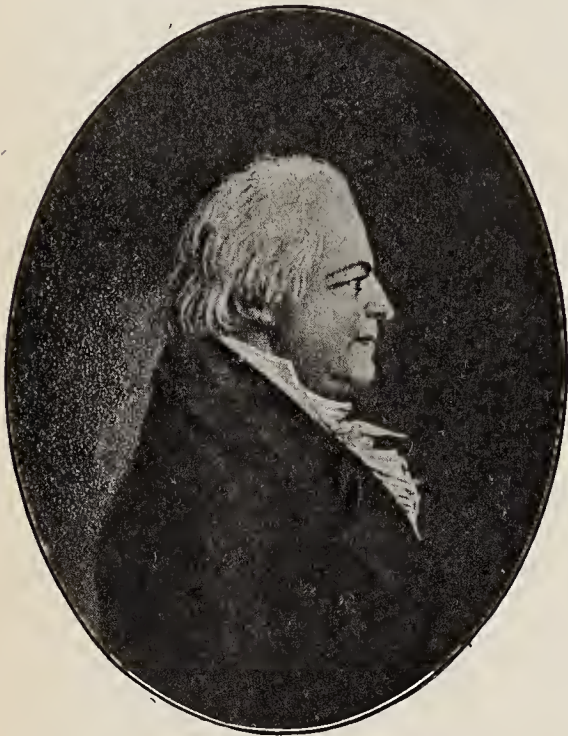
had sent Anthony Hendry, an ex-smuggler from the Isle of Wight, inland to strengthen their relations with the Indians; and Hendry had established relations with tribes as far west as the prairies of Alberta. But the conquest of Canada by the British in 1763 had brought into the west an influx of Anglo-American traders, with their base of operations at Montreal, who promised to be even more serious rivals than the French.

The Hudson's Bay Company therefore decided to build some trading-houses in the interior, in order to keep the Montreal traders in check; and in 1774 Samuel Hearne was sent inland to found



WINTER SCENE AT A POST OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan. But this attempt to check the Montrealers proved ineffectual. The Frobishers and Alexander Henry tapped the supply of furs above Cumberland House; in 1778



ALEXANDER HENRY

Was one of the first explorers of the North-West, and one of the founders of the North-West Fur Company, which afterward became so powerful.

Peter Bond, a rough American trader, penetrated to Lake Athabaska, which he was the first white man to visit; and in 1786 Cuthbert Grant built a post on Great Slave Lake, which Hearne had discovered fifteen years before. Moreover, these traders pooled their interests, and formed the formidable North-West Fur Company. The Hudson's Bay Company was forced to redouble its efforts to retain its trade; and so began that bitter rivalry between the Hudson's Bay men and the Nor'-Westers which was to end only with the union of the two companies in 1821.

This rivalry, unfortunate though some of its results were, proved an excellent stimulus to exploration. To the desire

Alexander Mackenzie of the North-West Fur Company to tap new sources of the fur-trade were due some of the most notable journeys

of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the race the Hudson's Bay Company was easily outstripped by the Nor'-Westers.

Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains and reach the Pacific Ocean, was a partner of the North-West Company; so also was Simon Fraser, the explorer of the Fraser River; and although David Thompson, the explorer of the Columbia, began his career in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, all his most notable work was done after he went over to the Nor'-Westers.

Alexander Mackenzie was a young Scotsman who had come out to Canada in 1779. He had entered the office of a Montreal fur-trading house, and for five or six years he had worked as a clerk at a desk. He had then been sent west to engage in the fur-trade; and he ultimately found himself in charge of the lonely trading-post of the North-West Company on Lake Athabaska. Here, during the long winter, when time hung heavily on his hands, he planned a journey of exploration into the unknown country to the North and West. Having obtained the consent of the partners of the company, he set out in the early summer of 1789, paddled north to Great Slave Lake, and then descended to the Arctic Sea by that great river which now bears his name, thus repeating further west the achievement of Samuel Hearne in reaching salt water at the mouth of the Coppermine. The journey to the sea and back Mackenzie accomplished in one hundred and two days — a record for wilderness travel.

On his way to the Arctic and back Mackenzie had frequently seen the Rockies, and had heard from the Indians of rivers to the west of them flowing into the sea. He had tried to induce the Indians to guide him to one of these rivers, but had not succeeded. Three years later, however, he obtained the consent

Plans to Cross the Rockies of the partners to another journey of exploration, this time with the object of finding a way through the mountains to the Pacific. He had a much clearer idea of his objective than any of his predecessors in the search for the Western Sea, for fully fifteen years before Captain Cook had explored the Pacific coast of North America as far north as Alaska, and the results of his exploration had been published in his famous *Third Voyage*.

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF CANADA

Preparatory to his journey, Mackenzie built comfortable winter quarters for his men at the headwaters of the Peace River; and then in the spring of 1793, he set out on the journey which was to solve the long-standing problem of the route to the Western Sea. Plunging

civilisation, he was knighted by the King; and the book in which he recounted the story of his "voyages to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans" made him immediately famous. During his stay in Canada he gained wealth, and later returned to Scotland.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mackenzie's exploits were gradually followed up. In 1806 Simon Fraser, another member of the North-West Company, crossed the Peace River Pass, built some trading-posts on the western side of the mountains, and in 1807 followed to its mouth that river which Mackenzie had found unnavigable. Both Mackenzie and Fraser thought this river the Columbia, the mouth of which had been discovered by an American navigator in 1792; but in this they were mistaken, and the river has since that time borne fittingly the name of the Fraser.

The exploration of the Columbia was carried out a few years later by David Thompson, a partner of the North-West Company about whom too little has hitherto been known, and who was in some respects a greater man than either Mackenzie or Fraser. He had received only the education afforded by a charity school in London, and he had been apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company when a mere child; but he had taught himself surveying, and during twenty-eight years spent continuously in the north-west he never made a journey without taking a traverse of his route; and he never made a prolonged halt without observing for longitude and latitude. Among the Indians of the Columbia River he came to be known as Koo-Koo-Sint, "the man that reads the stars."

It was because the Hudson's Bay authorities thought that he devoted too much time to surveying, at the expense of the fur-trade, that he went over to the North-West Company, who knew how to value his gifts. The accuracy and comprehensiveness of his surveys, in view of the rude instruments he used, were wonderful; and it is not too much to say that we owe to him a very large part of the map of north-western Canada.



SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

Was born in Scotland, but came to Canada and entered the service of the North-West Fur Company. He discovered the Mackenzie River, and was the first white man to cross the continent of North America. He was knighted in 1802.

From a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence

into regions hitherto unvisited by white men, he crossed the height of land at one of the sources of the Peace River, and made his way down the Fraser River toward the sea. Finding the Fraser unnavigable, however, he and his men put up their canoe, and struck overland toward the Pacific. They reached salt water in the neighbourhood of a cape to which Captain Vancouver, sailing up the coast the year before, had given the name of Port Menzies. Here Mackenzie, with a mixture of vermilion and grease, painted on the face of the rock this memorial of his visit: "*Alexander Mackenzie from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three. Lat. 52° 20' 48" N.*" He, a young Scots clerk, had succeeded in accomplishing what Champlain and La Salle and La Vérendrye and a host of others had attempted, and failed to achieve. On his return to

EXPLORERS OF THE LAST CENTURY

By the time of the union of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies in 1821, what are now the main settled parts of Canada were fairly well explored. During the last century the efforts of explorers have been chiefly devoted to outlying parts of the country, such as the Arctic coast, the Yukon, and the Labrador peninsula.

The story of the exploration of the Arctic coast is indissolubly bound up



SIR JOHN FRANKLIN

Was an English naval officer who led three explorations to British North America. From the expedition of 1845, no one returned and not until 1859 was the fate of the expedition certainly known.

with the name of Sir John Franklin, an officer of the British Royal Navy, who made in all three expeditions to "the frozen North." In 1820-1821 he took a party inland to the Athabaska district, and then struck north, by way of Great Slave Lake, to the mouth of the Coppermine. Thence, in two frail canoes, he and his men attempted to link up the mouth of the Coppermine with the mouth of the Mackenzie. Their supplies gave out, however, and they were compelled to make a short-cut overland in the hope of reaching their base. Two of Franklin's compan-

ions died of hunger; and one, who showed signs of cannibalism, had to be shot. "We refreshed ourselves," says Franklin, "with eating our old shoes and a few scraps of leather." It was only a chance encounter with a party of Indians that saved the explorers from extinction.

Great as their sufferings had been, however, Franklin and his companions were not daunted. In 1826 they descended the Mackenzie; and Franklin explored the Arctic coast westward of its mouth, while his friend, Dr. Richardson, made his way eastward, and reached the mouth of the Coppermine. In 1833-1835 Sir George Back, another of Franklin's comrades, made several journeys to the Arctic Sea, discovering a new route by way of the Great Fish River, and amplifying and extending the discoveries of Franklin and Richardson.

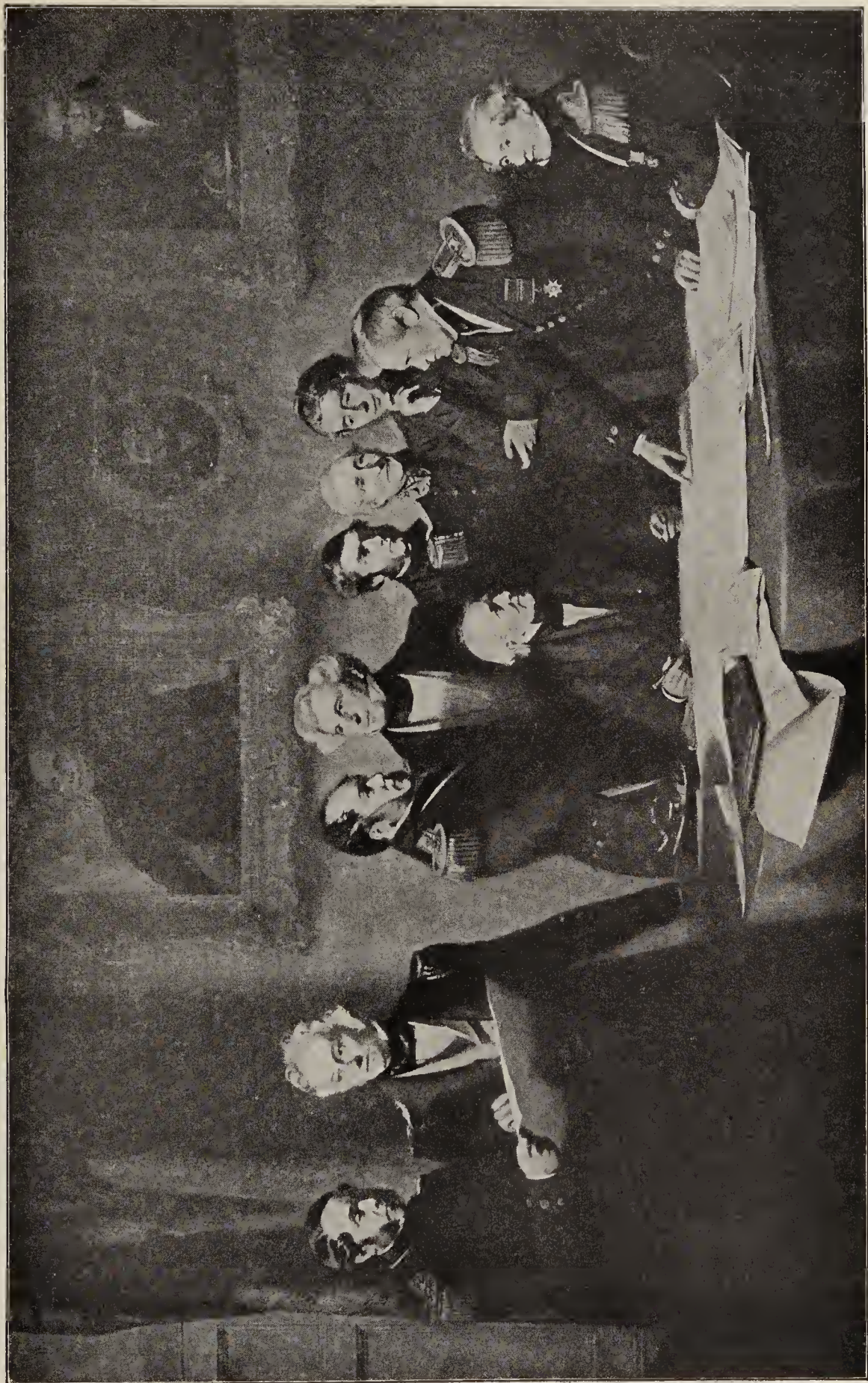
Franklin's last journey, that on which he lost his life, was an attempt made in 1845 to sail around the northern coast of North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. With two ships, the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, he penetrated as far as King William's Land; and there he was held up by the ice. The fate of the expedition long lay wrapped in mystery. The first of many relief parties was sent out in 1848; and in the grim search the whole of the Arctic coast

**Franklin's
Last
Expedition**

was charted, and ships sailing west from the Atlantic met ships coming east from the Pacific, thus proving the existence of the north-west passage. But it was not until 1859 that a last expedition sent out in 1857 by Lady Franklin, under the command of Sir Leopold McClintock, found on King William's Land the vestiges of the expedition, and learned from the Eskimos the last agonies of the last survivors. "They fell down and died," said an old Eskimo woman, "as they walked away."

And it was only in 1906 that a Norwegian explorer, Amundsen, who has since discovered the South Pole, succeeded in doing what Franklin died in attempting to do — sailing through the Arctic Sea from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Comparatively little has been done toward the exploration of the Labrador Peninsula. In 1835 John McLean, the



A GROUP OF FAMOUS ENGLISH EXPLORERS

Hudson's Bay Company's factor at Fort Chimo on Hudson Strait, made a mid-winter dash across the peninsula to Rigolet post on Hamilton Inlet. The story of the journey in his *Notes of a Twenty-five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territories* is an earlier version of the lure of the Labrador wild.

Labrador Little Known to this Day Within recent years admirable work in exploring the interior of the peninsula has been done by Dr. A. P. Low of the Canadian Geological Survey; and daring journeys have been made by American sportsmen, one of whom, Leonidas Hubbard, lost his life in a tragic way in 1905. But there are still vast tracts of territory in Labrador where "no man comes or hath come since the making of the world."

The exploration of the Yukon has been more thorough, largely because of the furs and the minerals the region has yielded. Between 1824 and 1850 great strides were made by the Hudson's Bay Company in opening up this district; and the privations they suffered may be

gathered from the experience of one of them, Robert Campbell, who built a trading-post on Pease Lake in 1838. "We were dependent," he says, "for subsistence on what animals we could catch, and failing that, on *tripe de Roche*. We were at one time reduced to such dire straits, that we were obliged to eat our parchment windows, and our last meal before abandoning Pease Lake, on May 8th, 1839, consisted of the lacing of our snow-shoes." If the discoveries of the last century are perhaps less notable than those of the preceding periods, the fact is due only to the lesser opportunity. In courage and endurance the explorers of the nineteenth century have not been behind those of the seventeenth and eighteenth. The name of Franklin shines with as bright a lustre as that of Hudson; and the employees of the Canadian Geological Survey deserve as high a place in the honour-roll of Canadian history as the servants of the great fur companies, who first made their way into the wilderness.

Modern Explorers Not Degenerate



ON THE BEAUTIFUL HUMBER RIVER, NEWFOUNDLAND

AMERICA



CANADA
II

THE COLONY OF NEW FRANCE

FRANCE UNDERTAKES THE COLONISATION OF CANADA

THE EARLY TRADING COMPANIES

THE history of Canada as a dependency of France begins in the year 1535, when Jacques Cartier erected on the shore of the Gaspé peninsula the cross with the *fleur-de-lys* escutcheon, and took possession of the country in the name of the King of France. A few years later the French King granted to Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a gentleman of the court, a commission as Viceroy of Canada; and Roberval, having associated Cartier with him in his enterprise, actually attempted to found a settlement. He came out in 1542, and deposited a number of convicts at Cap Rouge on the St. Lawrence; but his colony did not survive more than one year. Scurvy and frost carried off many of the small band of settlers; some of the rest were hanged or "placed in irons and kept prisoner;" and in the autumn of 1543 Roberval was glad to return to France with the remnants of his company. Some years later he died from wounds received in a midnight stabbing affray in Paris.

From this time until nearly the close of the sixteenth century, no further attempt was made by the French court to found any settlement in Canada, or to make any provision for its government. The wars between the League and the Huguenots, which rent France during most of this period, prevented any attention to colonial affairs. This does not mean, however, that Canada was abandoned. Every year the fishermen of the

French Fishermen on the Grand Banks

Basque and Breton ports came out to the Banks of Newfoundland and to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in their tiny fishing-smacks, which were

known as "the sardines of the sea." These fishermen probably did too a desultory trade in furs with the Indians, with whom they came in contact on the shore; and some of them may have gone farther and done more than we are aware of. In 1587, for instance, Jacques Noel, a grand-nephew of Jacques Cartier, wrote to the English historian and geographer, Hakluyt, that he had gone up the St. Lawrence as far as the Lachine Rapids; and in 1607 the French chronicler, Lescarbot, met at Canso, a harbour on the south-west of Cape Breton Island, a fine old Basque fisherman who was then on his forty-second annual voyage to the fishing-grounds of the New World.

It was not, however, until the cessation of the wars of religion in France that the French government turned its eyes once more to Canada. In the very year of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes (1598), the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, having obtained from the French King a commission as Lieutenant-General of the French territories in the New World, made an attempt to establish a colony in Acadia. He had difficulty in obtaining colonists, for immigration into Canada was not as popular then as it is to-day; and he was compelled to resort to the expedient of obtaining "wretches from the prisons." To over one hundred of these he sold their liberty, thus providing himself with funds for the prosecution of his venture; with the rest, some sixty in number, he set sail in a vessel so small that the passengers could touch the water over the side. He reached land at Sable Island.

This island — as its French name, *Isle de Sable*, shows — is a sandbar, about one hundred miles off the coast of Nova Scotia, long known as "the graveyard of the Atlantic." It is now about nineteen

miles long by about one and a half in breadth. In the sixteenth century it was rather more than double its present size; but it was no less desolate and storm-swept than it is to-day. Here La Roche landed his settlers, while he himself went on in his ships to look for a suitable place for settlement. On his way, he was overtaken by a storm, and was blown — strange as it may seem — all the way back to France. His hapless colonists were left marooned on Sable Island, where they subsisted by gathering the cranberries which still grow luxuriantly on the island, by fishing and trapping, and by hunting the wild cattle which had in some mysterious way been left on the island. Quarrels broke out among the convicts; and when relief came, five years later, only eleven of the original sixty survived. On their return to France, they were, in consideration of their sufferings, pardoned for their former crimes, and are said to have embarked in the Canadian fur-trade.

From 1598 it is probable that not a winter elapsed in which some Frenchman did not remain in the country; and from that date it is possible to trace a continuous line of trading companies, with authority derived from the King, in whose hands the government of the country was placed. The history of these early trading companies was complicated. In 1600, after the failure of La Roche, a monopoly of the fur-trade in Canada was granted for ten years to Pierre Chauvin, a Huguenot merchant of Honfleur, and François Gravé, Sieur du Pont, commonly known as Pont-Gravé, a sailor of St. Malo.

The only condition attached to the monopoly was that Chauvin and Pont-Gravé were to bring out to Canada fifty colonists a year. Chauvin attempted to found a settlement at Tadoussac; but his settlement consisted of only sixteen men, and most of these perished the first winter. In 1602 Chauvin died, and his share in the enterprise passed into other hands. In 1603 the monopoly originally granted to him was transferred to a few merchants of St. Malo and Rouen, under the Lieutenant-governorship of the Sieur de Chaste, Governor of Dieppe,

a white-haired veteran of the civil war. In 1604, however, De Chaste died; and his mantle fell upon a Huguenot gentleman, Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts. The part played by the Huguenots in the early exploitation of Canada is noteworthy. De Monts' monopoly was granted for ten years, but it was on severer conditions than those previously imposed; he was to bring out one hundred colonists a year, or one thousand in all.

The condition whereby these monopolists were required to bring out a stated number of colonists, was the means adopted by the French government for giving the country a population. The device, however, did not prove very successful. There was a lack of

The Difficulty of Securing Colonists

voluntary colonists of good character. Most of those brought out by the trading companies were beggars, criminals, or unpromising labourers, and naturally there was a drain on the company's funds in maintaining these during the long Canadian winters. At length no attempt was made to fulfil this condition of the monopoly at all; and finally, owing to the intrigues of the excluded traders, the monopoly was almost invariably repealed by the government several years before its legal termination. It would then be given to another company.

The venture of the Sieur de Monts was typical. His patent entitled him to colonise Acadia, which was defined as the country lying between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels. In 1604, he set sail for the New World, with Samuel de Champlain and Pont-Gravé as his lieutenants, and established a colony first on a little island at the mouth of the St. Croix River, which now divides New Brunswick from the State of Maine. In 1798, almost two hundred years later, the commissioners who were engaged in settling the boundary line between Canada and the United States, settled one point of the dispute by discovering the ruins of De Monts' first fort. The choice of the site of the colony, which seems to have been due to Champlain, who was a soldier and sailor rather than a coloniser, was a mistake; for the island was not suited to the growing of vegetables or grain, and during the winter fresh water had to be

brought from the mainland across the ice.

During the first winter, scurvy played terrible havoc among the settlers; and out of seventy-nine who landed in June, 1604, only forty-four remained alive the following spring. Religious troubles, too, added to the troubles of the colony, for among the settlers there were both Huguenots and Roman Catholics. "I have seen our *Curé* and the minister," wrote Champlain, "fall to with their fists on questions of faith." In 1605 the colony was wisely transferred to Port Royal (now Annapolis) on the shores of the Bay of Fundy; and in 1606 a draft of new settlers came out, under the Baron de Poutrincourt, to whom De Monts gave Port Royal and the surrounding country as a fief.

With Poutrincourt came his friend, the lawyer, Marc Lescarbot, to whose vivacious pen we owe the first history of New France. Lescarbot, who was for a time, in 1607, left in charge at Port Royal, did his best to encourage agriculture in the settlement, in preference to prospecting for precious metals, as Champlain and some of the others were inclined to do. "The first and most essential mine," he said, "is to have plenty of bread and wine and cattle." But in spite of his efforts, the colony did not flourish. Few other settlers came out; in 1608 the monopoly of De Monts was revoked by the King; and in 1612 the settlement was virtually wiped out by the Virginian buccaneer, Samuel Argall.

Meanwhile, however, De Monts had turned his attention elsewhere. Disgusted with Acadia, he resolved to try the St. Lawrence. In the summer of 1608, Champlain, under the orders of De Monts, pushed up the river from Tadoussac, and at a point where the river narrows established a trading-post. From this trading-post developed the historic city of Quebec, destined for many years to be the capital of Canada. The *Habitation de Quebecq*, as Champlain called the trading-post, was the property of the Sieur de Monts; but from 1608 to 1613 trade in Canada was free, and Champlain, who was the commandant of the post, had to meet the competition of any traders who

wished to sail up the St. Lawrence. But it was found that the system of free trade was even less helpful than the system of monopolies to the settlement of the country; and in 1613 a new charter or monopoly was granted to a company formed by Champlain.

This company lasted from 1614 to 1620; and its successor, the company of the C  n brothers, in which Champlain was also interested, lasted from 1621 to 1627. The success of Champlain in preserving this monopoly for so many years is to be explained by a device which he adopted. He saw that the company needed above all a friend at court, to look after its interests. He therefore prevailed on the Comte de Soissons, a prince of the blood royal, to accept the position of Lieutenant-governor or Viceroy. When the Comte de Soissons died, he induced another member of the royal family, the Prince de Cond  , to accept the position. When the Prince de Cond   fell under a cloud at court, the office was given to the Duc de Montmorency, and in 1625, the Duc de Montmorency was succeeded by the Duc de Ventadour.

The company was very successful. In one year it sent 25,000 peltries to France; and the dividend was frequently as high as 40 per cent. Evidently the Viceroys obtained considerable emoluments; for the Duc de Montmorency thought it worth while to pay 11,000 crowns in order to obtain the position. During these years the government of the colony was in the hands, not of the Viceroy so-called, who exercised little real power, but in the hands of Champlain, who enjoyed the official title of Commandant at Quebec.

Champlain has often been called the Father of New France. The term is perhaps an exaggeration; but the period during which Champlain guided the destinies of the infant colony was very important. Of his work in exploration, something has been said in a previous chapter. As a coloniser, he was not perhaps as great as other men of his time, for in truth the interests of his fur-trading company were not served by an influx of population. The greater the area under cultivation, the farther afield would the company have to go for its furs; and the more settled the habits of the people, the less would

Early
Religious
Difficulties

Profits
in the
Fur Trade

Quebec
is
Founded

the adventurous life of the woods appeal to them.

It is worthy of note, however, that it was Champlain who brought out to Canada the first scientific Canadian farmer,

**The First
Scientific
Farmer**

Louis Hébert. Hébert was a Parisian apothecary, who had gone out to Acadia in 1606, and whose professional interest in herbs had led him to take an interest in agriculture. At the request of Champlain he settled on the site of the Upper town of Quebec; and his numerous descendants in the province of Quebec to-day look back on him with no less pride than New Englanders look back to their ancestors who came over in the *Mayflower*.

Champlain encouraged also missionary enterprise in Canada. Although there is some slight evidence that his parents had been Huguenots, Champlain was a fervent and pious Catholic; and he deemed one of the chief objects of the colony to be the conversion of the savages from heathendom. In 1615 there came to Canada four Récollet friars; and one of them accompanied Champlain on his great journey to the Huron country in this year. Other Récollets followed, and began a work among the Indians which was unfortunately not to be completed. In 1625 the first Jesuits arrived in the country; and the ascendancy which they obtained soon resulted in the exclusion of the Récollets from the field which they had first cultivated. But the work of these early missionaries left an indelible stamp on the colony; and it may be said that it was during Champlain's régime that the colony took on the character of half mission-station, half fur-trading centre, which marked it during so large a part of its history.

The most fateful aspect of Champlain's work, however, was seen in his relations with the Indians. The Indians of the

**Champlain
and the
Indians**

region of the St. Lawrence and the lower lakes were divided into two camps. The powerful confederacy of the Five Nations, commonly called the Iroquois, were to the south of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario; the Algonquins, with whom Champlain first came into contact, were to the north of the St. Lawrence, and their allies, the Hurons, were between

Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. Between these two groups there was war; and Champlain had hardly established himself at Quebec before he was forced to choose between them. Naturally, he aligned himself with the Algonquins and the Hurons, with whom he had already established relations, and who seemed to be the more numerous and powerful. In June, 1609, with a few Frenchmen, he accompanied his Indian allies on an expedition up the Richelieu River into the heart of the Iroquois country.

Beside the lake which now bears his name, Champlain had his first sight of the Iroquois. A thousand Iroquois warriors advanced to the attack with a disciplined regularity which won Champlain's admiration; but when Champlain and his men discharged their guns into the advancing throng, the savages fled in terror. The next year Champlain won another victory for his Indian allies near the mouth of the Richelieu; and in 1615 he accompanied the Hurons in a raid upon the Iroquois settlements south of Lake Ontario. The wisdom of Champlain in making these unprovoked attacks on the Iroquois may perhaps be questioned. Certainly, they were fruitful of tragic results.

The Iroquois never forgot the action of the French; and when they obtained firearms later from the Dutch traders on the

**The Hostility
of the Iro-**

quois Confederacy

Hudson, they made not only the Hurons and the Algonquins, but even the French themselves, rue those easily won, but dearly bought, victories of the Richelieu valley. Champlain had unwittingly arrayed against New France the sleepless hostility of the most powerful and most vengeful of the Indian tribes of North America.

THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE

The monopoly of the Caën brothers had been guaranteed them, even in case of the change of Viceroy, until 1635; but in 1627 they found their charter annulled. This action was due to the interference of Cardinal Richelieu, the new minister of the King. When Richelieu became in 1626 the Grand Master, Chief and General Superintendent of the Navigation and Commerce of France, he found among the papers awaiting his attention

THE COLONY OF NEW FRANCE

a proposal for the establishment of a gigantic company, composed of the principal merchants of the country, in whose hands was to be placed the whole of the trade and commerce of France by sea as well as by land.

The plan of chartered companies, under governmental auspices, had been adopted with great success by England (as witness the history of the East India Company, founded in 1600, and the Virginia Company, founded in 1606) and by Holland (as witness the history of the Dutch East India Company and the Company of the West Indies, which had colonised New Netherlands). Richelieu had been attracted by the idea, and had promulgated an edict forming a huge company, which was to have its headquarters at Morbihan in Brittany; but he encountered opposition from the Parliament of Paris, the central law-court of France, which refused to register the edict. The project was therefore allowed quietly to drop, and Richelieu had recourse instead to a number of smaller companies for specific purposes.

The monopoly which had been enjoyed by Champlain and the Caën brothers he placed in the hands of a new organisation, to which he gave the

**The Old
Monopolies
Revoked**

name of the Company of New France. He bought from the Duc de Ventadour the office

of Viceroy, incorporated it with that of Grand Master of the Navigation of France, annulled the charter of the Caën Company, and interested a number of the great Paris merchants in the formation of the new company under government auspices. Whereas previous ventures had been supported by the merchants of Rouen and the sea-port towns, the Company of New France was the offspring or protégé of the court, and was backed by the merchants of the capital. The fact was significant of the growing importance of Canada in the eyes of the French public.

The charter of the company, which was the paper constitution of New France from 1627 to 1663, presented some novel features. The company

**The Company
of the Hun-
dred Associates**

was organised on the basis of 100 shares of 3,000 livres each. A share might be subdivided, but was entitled to

only one representative at the meetings of the shareholders, and it was because of this fact that the company came to be known as the Company of the Hundred Associates. The affairs of the company were conducted by a board of twelve directors, of whom six had to be residents of Paris — a result of the predominance of Paris in the venture. The company was given New France in feudal tenure, with the right of sub-granting seigniories; and it was given a permanent monopoly of the trade in furs in the colony, together with a monopoly of all other trade for a period of fifteen years. In return for these concessions, it was obliged to bring over to Canada two or three hundred men of all trades within the ensuing year, and four thousand persons of both sexes within the ensuing fifteen years.

In the government of the colony, the King retained rather more control than previously. The Governor of New France was to be appointed by him on the nomination of the company, and was to be approved by him every three years; and although the company could subinfeudate its lands, it could not create baronies, or anything higher than a seignior, except with the consent of the Crown. Lastly, there was in the charter a provision which was destined to exercise a profound effect on the future of the colony. This was the clause which required that none but Roman Catholics should be brought out to New France.

Attention has already been called to the part that the Huguenots had played in the early history of the colony. De

**Religious
Proscription
Begins** Monts, Chauvin, the Caën brothers — all these had been Huguenots. After 1627, however, the Huguenot influence

in Canada disappears, and the colony becomes definitely Roman Catholic. The strong ecclesiasticism which marks the later history of New France was largely the result of this exclusion of the Huguenots; and perhaps some of the economic backwardness may be traced to the same source, for the Huguenots were perhaps the most active mercantile element in France at this time.

Samuel de Champlain was appointed Governor of New France, and continued

to hold the office until his death in 1635. Hardly had he entered upon his new functions, however, when he was robbed for a time of his domain. England and France were at war at the time of the formation of the Company of New France; and in the summer of 1629 a small English fleet under Sir David Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence and forced Champlain, who had only a hundred men and inadequate supplies, to surrender Quebec. The English held Quebec for three years. That they did not hold it longer was due to the fact that they did not capture it sooner. The surrender had taken place on July 16, 1629; but when Champlain reached Europe he found that peace had been signed between England and France on April 24. Champlain stirred up the French government to hold out for the restoration of Quebec; and after prolonged negotiations, the English government handed back the colony to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632.

This interlude over, Champlain applied himself once more to the government of the colony. He found it, however, an uphill task. The company had been impoverished by the loss of its fleet of provision ships during the war with England; the colonists it sent were few and unsatisfactory; and it failed to give Champlain the military assistance which was necessary to establishing a supremacy over the Iroquois tribes. At last, Champlain's health gave way under the strain, and he died of paralysis on Christmas Day, 1635.

Champlain was not perhaps a man much ahead of his time. His failure to understand the paramount duty of a young country to feed itself, and his wanton attacks on the Iroquois, would seem to argue as much. But he belonged to the best of his time. He was a scholar and a man of science; his piety was like that of a mediæval crusader; he was *sans peur et sans reproche*. "In an age of unbridled license, his life had answered to his maxims; and when a generation had passed after his visit to the Hurons, their elders remembered with astonishment the continence of the great French war-chief."

**The Place
of Champlain
in History**

The successor of Champlain as Governor of New France was Charles Jacques de Montmagny. The Indian translation of Montmagny's name, Onontio (Great Mountain), long provided the Indians with the designation by which they habitually referred to the representative of the French King in Canada. The most outstanding incident of Montmagny's régime was the foundation, rather in opposition to his wishes, of the settlement at Montreal. Montreal ultimately became a centre of the fur-trade; but its foundation was due first to that other dominant feature of life in New France, religious enterprise. In 1642 an association was formed under the auspices of the Sulpicians, which was officially styled "The Gentlemen associated for the conversion of savages at Montreal," and which had as its object the establishment of a hospital and mission-station for the Indians.

Montreal was then in a very exposed position, and all practical men counselled the enthusiasts to refrain from their enterprise. But the heroic Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, their leader, was immovable. "I have not come here to deliberate, but to act. It is my duty and my honour to found a settlement at Montreal, and I would go if every tree were an Iroquois." The association was granted the island of Montreal in frankalmoign; and one May morning in 1642 a band of pious men and women landed on the shores of the island, celebrated Mass, and laid the foundations of what is now the largest city in Canada.

The power of the governor in Champlain's time had been very great. Champlain had exercised virtually absolute power in the name of the King and the company; he had administered without control, and judged without appeal. But under Montmagny, the governor's power suffered diminution in several regards. In the first place, local governors were appointed at Three Rivers, which had been founded in 1633, and at Montreal, where the Sulpicians got in 1644 the right of naming their own governor. From the jurisdiction of these governors there was an appeal to the governor at Quebec; but the distance between Montreal and Quebec was so great, and communication

**Montreal is
Founded by
Maisonneuve**



THE STATUE OF MAISONNEUVE, MONTREAL

Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, stands to Montreal as Champlain to Quebec. In 1642, with a small company of followers, he made a settlement which he called Ville-Marie de Montreal. There was no thought of profit, but it was to be a city of God upon earth. The settlers and their heroic leader faced all difficulties with enthusiasm, but the little settlement was many times threatened with destruction by the Indians, as well as by hunger. This spirited statue by the famous Canadian sculptor, Louis Philippe Hébert, was erected in 1905, in the Place d'Armes, Montreal.

between the two places so tedious, that Maisonneuve, who was made Governor of Montreal, became virtually independent in his western march. In the second place, there was set up in 1647, for the purpose of assisting the Governor of New France, a Consultative Council, in which sat the ex-Governor, the Superior of the Jesuits, and two of the inhabitants.

The fortunes of the Company of New France had a varying history. For a number of years the profits of the company were considerable. Up

Profits and Losses of the Company to 1637 it had made a net profit of 60,000 livres. But

in 1637 there was a reorganisation of the company, and thereafter its profits steadily declined. By 1641, it was threatened with bankruptcy. The reasons for this are not clear. The incursions of the Iroquois may have had something to do with it, though the Iroquois war did not really begin until 1641; loss of ships may have been a contributing cause; and bad management was certainly to blame. In 1645 and again in 1648 the company was so poor that it was compelled to throw on the inhabitants the duty of supporting and defending the colony, and also to give the right of trading. The result of this was that the fur-trade got into the hands of a ring of Quebec traders who defrauded the company of its revenues. At last, in 1663, the company was, without much difficulty, compelled to wind up its accounts and surrender its charter; and the colony came back into the King's hand.

But the chief interest of the period from 1627 to 1663 does not lie in the struggle of the Company of New France for existence, or in the methods which it adopted for the government of the colony. The outstanding feature of the period is without doubt the history of missionary enterprise among the Indians and the relation of the Indians to the colony. It was in 1625 that the first Jesuit missionaries came to Canada. They began work that year among the Algonquins, and in 1626 they founded the Jesuit mission in the Huron country. Their aim, which they succeeded in realising for a time in South America, was the establishment of a native Christianity. They learned the language of their flocks, and made little or no attempt to teach them French, well

knowing the dangers that lurked in any attempt to make the red men like the white.

Most of the Jesuits in Canada were men of gentle birth, who, in political life, might have risen to high distinction. The

The Heroism of the Jesuit Missionaries

world has seldom seen such an example of unselfish and fearless heroism as they afforded in North America.

Without a backward look, they braved the misery of life in the Indian villages, the rigours of the Canadian climate, and the ever imminent peril of death in its most subtle and excruciating forms, for the greater glory of God. Some of them even went down into the Iroquois country. Father Isaac Jogues, a missionary who had been captured in 1643 by the Iroquois and who had, after suffering repeated tortures, escaped to France by way of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson River, returned in 1646 as a missionary to the Iroquois, and suffered martyrdom in the autumn of that year. If only they could save the soul of a dying Indian child by the baptism of a handkerchief dipped surreptitiously in holy water, these heroic priests deemed their lives well spent.

For a time the Jesuit missions among the Hurons promised well. Mission stations were established throughout the region south of the Georgian Bay, of so substantial a construction that the ruins of some of them are visible to this day. A large part of the Huron tribe was converted; and the Jesuits set up over the villages of the neophytes a sort of paternal rule. But the Jesuit missions, as well

The Jesuits and the Iroquois

as the Huron tribe itself, were destined to disappear before the devouring onslaught of the relentless Iroquois. The Iro-

quois, having obtained firearms from the Dutch, determined to exact a fearful revenge for the attacks to which they had been subjected by the French and the Hurons.

Winter after winter they surrounded the infant settlement of Montreal, cutting off stragglers, and even joining battle with Maisonneuve and his hardy band of crusaders. On one or two occasions the settlement was saved only by the vigilance of Maisonneuve's faithful watchdog, Pilot, who, if we are to believe the

tales about him, developed a craft in woodland warfare which exceeded that of the Iroquois themselves. The Hurons too began to feel the brunt of the Iroquois attack. Possibly the process of Christianising them had softened them; at any rate they proved unable to resist the repeated onslaughts of their fierce foes. In 1649 the Huron settlements south of the Georgian Bay, together with the Jesuit mission stations, were utterly destroyed; thousands of the Hurons were massacred; and several of the missionaries, notably Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, were tortured and killed, displaying a disregard for pain which was hardly human.

In the valley of the little River Wye, where most of the mission stations were situated, archæologists in our own day have discovered relics of that tragic massacre — tomahawks which had slipped from the hands of dying warriors, candlesticks which had adorned the altars of the Jesuit chapels, coins which had been worn as tokens by the Huron converts. The missionaries that survived sadly made their way back to Quebec, accompanied by some fragments of the Huron tribe, who settled at Lorette, on the St. Lawrence, where their descendants may be seen to-day. The rest of the Huron survivors fled westward, and settled near Detroit, where they came to be known as Wyandots.

The extinction of the Huron settlements merely whetted the appetite of the Iroquois for more blood. Sweeping on, they wiped out the Algonquins of Lake Nipissing and the Upper Ottawa. In 1650-51, they destroyed that branch of the Hurons which was known as the Tobacco nation, and a kindred tribe known as the Neutrals, who dwelt in the Niagara peninsula. In the winter of 1651-52 a band of Iroquois braves penetrated to the sources of the St. Maurice River, a journey of twenty days northward from the St. Lawrence, and exterminated an Algonquin tribe which dwelt there. In

1654 they turned upon the Eries, who dwelt to the south of the lake of that name, and in one day the Erie nation was destroyed. The Iroquois still tell the grim tale of the evening of the battle,

when the forest gleamed with a thousand watch-fires, in the midst of each of which an Erie brave writhed out his life. In 1656 the Iroquois bands came boldly down past Quebec, and on their return plundered the houses of the lower town, without a hand being raised in resistance. The truth was that the Iroquois raids were threatening the very life of the colony; and it is possible that even Montreal and Quebec might have been wiped out, had it not been for one of the bravest exploits of the French race.

In the spring of 1660 word reached the French that the Iroquois were planning a general attack on the colony, with the object of wiping it off the map. A band of Iroquois had wintered up the Ottawa, and were known to be about to attack Montreal. Fearing that the primitive defences of Montreal would not keep out the Iroquois, Adam Daulac, *Sieur des Ormeaux*, a young man of good family, obtained permission from

Maisonneuve to recruit a small band of volunteers to go out and attempt to hold the enemy up in the Ottawa valley. He was joined by sixteen young men, whose names and circumstances are all known to us to-day from the parish register of Montreal; and the heroic little band, having made their wills, and received the sacrament, set off up the Ottawa. At the Long Sault they took up their position in a half-ruined palisade, made by some hunters the previous year, and with a party of forty Hurons and four Algonquins, who had joined them, they awaited the foe.

They were first attacked by a band of two hundred Iroquois. These they held at bay for five days. Then, with a shout, a reinforcement of five hundred Iroquois arrived. The Hurons, overcome with fear, all deserted to the enemy, with the exception of their chief. Nevertheless, Daulac and his sixteen Frenchmen and five remaining Indians fought on. For three days more they repulsed the Iroquois attacks. On the ninth day, however, the defence collapsed. Daulac, in attempting to throw a musketoon crammed with bullets and powder among the advancing foe, failed, through weakness, to clear the palisade. The musketoon fell back, wrought terrible havoc

among the defenders, and blew a breach in the palisade which gave admittance to the foe. Fighting to the last, the defenders were one by one shot down; and the story of their dauntless exploit only reached the ears of their countrymen through some of the Huron deserters who escaped.

The Long Sault of the Ottawa was the Thermopylæ of New France. Daulac and his companions had died with their faces to the foe; but their death was the salvation of the colony. The Iroquois had had enough. If a handful of Frenchmen behind a ruined palisade could hold hundreds of their best warriors at bay for a week, what could not the whole population of Montreal do behind formidable defences? The projected attack on Montreal, therefore, did not take place, and the Iroquois returned home. They did not immediately give up their attacks on the colony; but never again did a crisis so acute arise to threaten the colony's existence. If ever any men died to save their country, and in dying saved it, those men were the seventeen heroes of the Long Sault.

The story of the Iroquois ferocity, spread by the Jesuits in their *Relations*, or missionary reports, naturally did not encourage emigration to Canada. Indeed, neither the Company of New France nor the Jesuits encouraged settlement in the colony. The Company did not wish settlers who drove the fur-bearing animals farther and farther back; and the Jesuits discouraged the immigration of all who were not religious enthusiasts, or at least pious sons and daughters of the Church. It was

small wonder that the colony did not prosper. Fur-traders, missionaries, and nuns it contained in plenty; but in real colonists it was poor. A brighter day, however, was soon to dawn. In 1663, Louis XIV, disgusted by the failure of the Company of New France, revoked the Company's charter, and acting on the advice of his great minister, Colbert, took over the administration of the colony himself. With this change the Company system came to an end, and New France entered on a period of greater efficiency and prosperity.

THE PERIOD OF ROYAL GOVERNMENT

The system of government which was set up by Louis XIV in New France in 1663, and which lasted until the fall of New France nearly a century later, is commonly known as that of royal gov-



JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT

Was finance minister under Louis XIV from 1661 to 1683, and greatly increased the national income. During all this period he kept a watchful eye on Canada. Every detail was decided in France.

ernment. According to it, the colony came under the King's direct administration just as if it were one of the provinces of France; and the machinery of government was made to conform closely to the machinery of government in one of the French provinces at that time. There was set up in New France, just as in Brittany or Normandy, a Governor, who represented the King on official or ceremonial occasions, an Intendant, who was in a sense the business agent of the King, and a Sovereign Council, which corresponded roughly to the provincial *parlements* of old France. Later on, a Bishop of Quebec was set up, corresponding with the bishops who were usually found in the French provincial capitals.

The parallel was, of course, not complete. In old France, the power of the

Governor had shrunk greatly, and he was little more than a figurehead; whereas the Intendant held in his hands all the reins of power. In New France, the Intendant exercised great influence; he presided at the meetings of the Sovereign Council, and he had full control of the departments of finance, justice, and police; but very few Intendants were able to set at naught the authority of the Governor, especially if the latter were a man of vigour and resolution. The Sovereign Council, moreover, possessed executive and legislative powers which the *parlements* of old France had not; and it was totally different in composition. Instead of being a body of hereditary lawyers, as the *parlements* were, it was composed of the Governor and the Intendant, the Bishop of Quebec, and first five, then seven, and finally twelve other members, chosen by the King on the recommendation of the colonial officials.

At the same time, New France acquired an efficient system of local government through the spread of seigniorialism. The establishment of a seigniorial tenure had been, of course, contemplated from the first in New France. Practically all the charters to the early trading companies had carried with them the right of establishing seigniories. But the companies had been slow to take advantage of the right. By 1627 there had been only three seigniorial grants made in Canada, one to Louis Hébert at Quebec, another to the Caën brothers, which was revoked in 1627, and a third to the Jesuits, the first of a long series of grants to the Jesuit order, which left them, at the end of the French period, quite the largest landholders in the colony. It was not until after the establishment of royal government that the seigniorial system really took root in the colony and flourished.

Seigniories were carved out all along the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu Rivers, and the seigniors subdivided their holdings among their tenants, receiving rent usually payable in produce, a fine when the farm changed hands, and military service. Owing to the fact that these rivers were the high-

ways of the colony, and frontage on them was not only desirable but necessary, the subdivisions of the seigniories came in time to resemble narrow ribbons of land, only a few hundred yards wide, but sometimes several miles in depth. The houses of the *habitants* and of the *seigniors*, which, as a rule, did not greatly differ from those of the *habitants*, faced the water, with the result that the colony came to bear the appearance of a long straggling village along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Seigniorialism had become in France in the seventeenth century an unmixed curse. The seigniors had ceased to perform their obligations, and retained only their privileges. In New France, however, there was a return to the healthier conditions amid which feudalism had first arisen. There was none of that absentee landlordism which was the bane of the mother country. The seignior of New France dwelt upon his domain among his own people — their patron in peace and their leader in war. The oppressive incidents of feudalism in the Old World found no counterpart in the New World. The payments of the seignior to the Crown, and of the habitant to the seignior, were comparatively light; and it was only when land became, under the British régime, a commercial commodity, that the fines on the alienation of land became vexatious.

The only banal right which existed in New France, that of the seignior's grist-mill, which the habitants were compelled to use, was a real boon to the settlers of the colony. In fact, it was not at all a calamity for New France that it was organised on the seigniorial system. That system may not have developed among the Canadians the spirit of self-reliance and initiative engendered by the township system which was established in New England; but it gave New France a nucleus for its military organisation, which enabled it to develop a military strength out of all proportion to its population; it gave the colony a form of local government; and through the obligation imposed on the seigniors to subgrant their lands on penalty of losing their concessions, it gave a very effective aid to colonisation.

Seigniories
are
Established

The Advan-
tages of
the System

Seignior
and
Habitant



THE FIRST BISHOP OF QUEBEC

François de Montmorency-Laval was the spiritual father of New France. His power was great enough to overcome Comte de Frontenac, the royal governor. Laval University is named in his honour.

This was the period also of the establishment of the ecclesiastical system of New France. The French government had for some time previous to 1663 been bringing pressure to bear on the Papacy to get it to appoint a Bishop of New France; and in 1659 it succeeded in having Monseigneur de Montmorency-Laval sent out to take charge of the Canadian church. Laval, however, was not made Bishop of New France; he was merely appointed apostolic vicar, with the title of Bishop of Petraea in *partibus infidelium*. Evidently the Pope did not consider New France worthy of being erected into a bishopric. It was not until 1670 that Laval was created Bishop of Quebec, and New France was made an episcopal see.

Even then the Papacy exacted an important concession: it was stipulated that the Bishop of Quebec was not to be under the jurisdiction of any of the French Archbishops, but was to be in immediate subjection to the Holy See. From this circumstance has arisen the strongly ultramontane character of the French-Canadian church. Laval promptly set to work to give the church a definite organisation. It was

he who introduced the parochial system of Old France, with its annual payment of tithes. He himself would have preferred a sort of peripatetic system, so that he might be able to send his priests to any strategic point; but the parochial system was forced on him, and he compromised by making the *curés* removable by the bishop, so that they did not have the freehold in their office which they had in the mother country. Laval's incursions into political affairs may not always have been fortunate; but certainly he had a genius for organisation.

To inaugurate the new order of things in the colony, the Marquis de Tracy was appointed Lieutenant-general of the King in North and South America—an office created for the occasion to give him precedence over the new Governor, Daniel de Rémy, Sieur de Courcelles, and the Intendant, Jean Talon. The Marquis de Tracy did not arrive in Canada until the summer of 1665, for he had visited first the French West Indies; but he lost no time in putting the colony on its feet. The first task that demanded his attention was the removal of the Iroquois menace. He had brought with him the Carignan-Salières regiment, veterans of the Turkish wars. With



JEAN TALON, THE INTENDANT

Was one of the best of the French royal officials ever in Canada. Much of the success of the colony of New France was due to his wisdom and tact.

THE COLONY OF NEW FRANCE

their aid he built, in 1665, a number of forts in the Richelieu valley; and in 1666 he led an expedition down into the heart of the Iroquois country, where he carried fire and steel through the Iroquois settlements to such good effect that even the fierce Mohawks were cowed, and New France had peace for twenty years.

When peace was signed, the Carignan-Salières regiment was disbanded, and seigniories along the Richelieu were given to many of the officers of the regiment, who induced their men to settle on the seigniories, thus giving New France a number of military colonies as a guard to the frontier. The names of these officers are still perpetuated in such towns as Sorel, Chambly, and Verchères; and the blood of the soldiers of the Carignan-Salières flows to-day in the veins of a large proportion of the French-Canadian people.

In 1667, having reduced the Iroquois to subjection, Tracy returned to France, leaving the reorganised administration in the hands of Courcelles and Talon. Courcelles was a good soldier and an able administrator, but he was quite overshadowed by Talon, who was not only a man of splendid ability, but was a relative of the great Colbert, and had the private ear of the minister. Colbert had a great belief in the value of colonies, both as sources of supply for the manufactures of the mother country, and as markets for the mother country's manufactured goods. Coincident with the reorganisation of the government of the colony, he planned a development of the colony's resources.

In this policy he found in Talon a willing and able coadjutor. The great need of the colony was immigrants. In 1663 there were barely 2,500 people throughout the country. Shiploads of settlers were therefore sent out from France, and, what was even more important, cargoes of girls of a marriageable age. Penalties were imposed on all bachelors; dowries were given to married couples; and special bounties were awarded to all families containing twelve or more children. By these means the population increased by leaps and

bounds; and in less than ten years the population of the colony had risen to nearly 10,000 persons.

Of course, not all the new settlers were desirable immigrants. Even Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, the gentle Superior of the Ursulines at Quebec, described some shiploads as containing "a good deal of trash." But such bad characters as did not mend their ways were promptly shipped back to France; and there is no truth in the charge sometimes made that the sources of the population of the province of Quebec were contaminated. Together with the influx of population into the colony, there went on a rapid growth of industry and trade. Talon did all in his power to develop the raw materials of the country, and to promote commercial relations with France and the French West Indies. In defiance of the ideas of that day, which reserved colonial trade as a monopoly for the mother country, he endeavoured to stimulate trade even between Canada and New England.

Farm implements were brought out to Canada by the government, and agriculture was in all ways possible encouraged; horses, sheep, and cattle were imported to improve the breeds; bounties were given on such commodities as soap, potash, and tar. Surveyors were sent out in search of minerals; and the iron mines of Radnor Forges and the copper mines of Lake Huron were discovered by Talon's engineers. Ship-building was begun at the royal expense; and assistance was given to the cod-fisheries and seal-fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In short, a vivid industrial life sprang up with astonishing rapidity in New France during Talon's régime.

All this, of course, was due to the extreme paternalism by which the government of New France was distinguished, and of which it afforded a shining example. There was hardly a department of the colony's life over which the government did not exercise a minute and thorough supervision. All prices were regulated by royal edict. No one was allowed to enter the colony without the King's permission, and about all who

**The Military
Element is
Increased**

**Talon,
the Great
Administrator**

**Careful
Selection of
the Immigrants**

**Paternalism
in
Government**

came into the colony the government kept a record. The descriptive notes appended to the list of names in the government's *dossier* were sometimes very acute.

One man is described as "inferior in every respect, rich;" another is struck off in four words, "precise, clever, few friends;" a third is dismissed with one word, "dissolute." An officer is "bright witted, loved by the troops; has given ground for talk as to his morals; in command at Pointe à la Chevelure." Another is "fond of wine, but a good officer." Over the morals of the colony, the authorities exercised a vigilant eye. If there was any scandal, it was immediately reported to the King's minister. The case of Dame Peuvret, the widow of the Recorder of the Sovereign Court, was typical: she was led astray by a worthless fellow; her case was reported to Paris; the King ordered that she should be placed in a convent; and to a convent this merry widow of the seventeenth century went.

In 1672 Courcelles and Talon both returned to France; and there came out to Canada as Governor the ablest man who occupied that office during the French régime, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. Frontenac was a nobleman who had ruined a promising career at court by his overbearing and intractable temper. Though he came to Canada with no higher motive than that of restoring his broken fortunes, his courage, his skill, and his sagacity soon made him the dominant figure in the colony. He was especially successful in dealing with the Indians, to whom he was known as "the Great Onontio." He treated them like the children they were, lavishing compliments and presents upon them when good, and rebuking them haughtily when disobedient. It almost seemed as if there was something in his proud and violent disposition which was akin to that of the savages; and it was a significant fact

that when, nearly twenty years later, the Iroquois once again threatened the colony, the French government could think of nothing better than to send out Frontenac again to deal with the situation.

In the internal administration of the colony, however, Frontenac was born to trouble as the sparks fly upward. One of his first actions in the colony brought him a sharp rebuke from Colbert. This was the calling of the Estates-General of Canada in the autumn of 1672, on the model of the Estates-General of France, a body which represented the people somewhat as Parliament did in England. Counting nobles, clergy, and commons, more than one thousand persons in all met together at Quebec, and took the oath of fealty to the King.

The assemblage must have made a very salutary impression upon the Indians who were present; but when news of Frontenac's innovation reached France, Colbert wrote to him that "as our kings have long deemed it for the

good of their service not to assemble the Estates-General of the kingdom, so as perhaps to annihilate insensibly this ancient institution, you ought therefore to grant but rarely, or to be accurate, never to grant, this institution to the body of the inhabitants of the colony . . . it being well that each one should speak for himself and no one should speak for all." Thus Frontenac's experiment in representative government, if such a term can appropriately be applied to it, came to an abrupt and untimely end.

He had trouble, too, with the Intendant Duchesneau and Bishop Laval. The line between the jurisdictions of the Governor and the Intendant had not been carefully defined; and it was not to be expected that a man of Frontenac's force of character would play second fiddle to Duchesneau, as Courcelles had done to Talon. Nor was it to be expected that



COUNT FRONTENAC

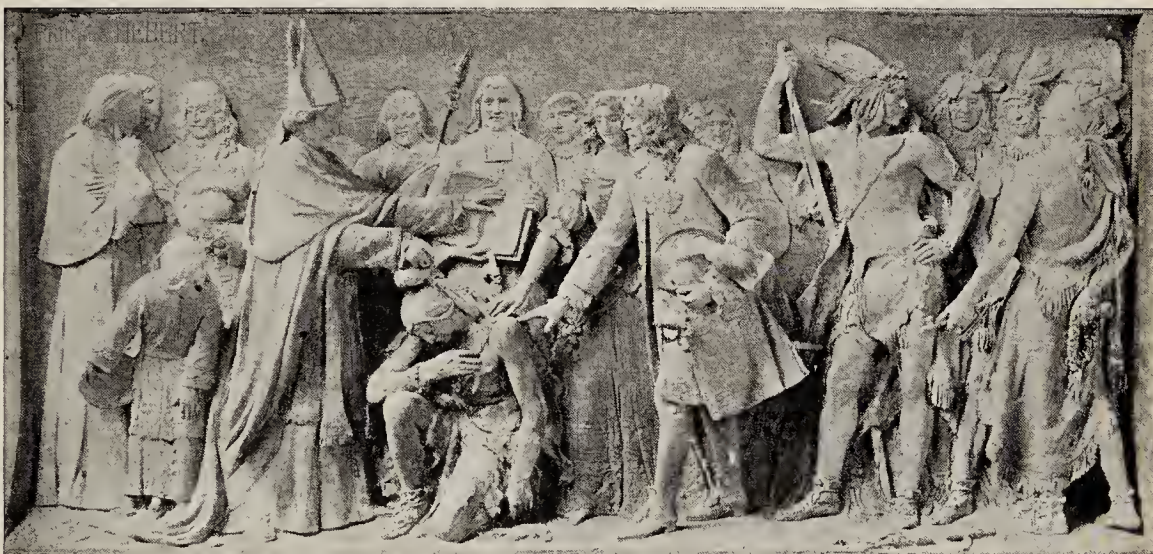
The most famous of the French governors of Canada. Frontenac, though a brave soldier, was arrogant and unyielding. He was very successful in dealing with the Indians.

Frontenac is Rebuked by Colbert

Comte de Frontenac, the Great Governor



LAVAL, AFTER LANDING, VISITING A CHAPEL IN THE FOREST



THE BAPTISM BY LAVAL OF THE IROQUOIS INDIAN CAPTAIN, GARAKONTIE



THE VICAR OF THE POPE AT THE COURT OF LOUIS XIV
SCENES IN BAS-RELIEF FROM THE LIFE AND WORK OF LAVAL

Photos Neurdein

he would submit tamely to the dictation of Laval and the Jesuits, who had been striving for some time to dominate the government of the colony. The question over which Frontenac came to daggers drawn with Laval and Duchesneau was the question of the sale of brandy to the Indians. The fur-traders had found that no barter equalled brandy as a means for obtaining the furs from the Indians. But the brandy turned the Indians into raving fiends; and Laval and the clergy set their faces like flint against the deadly traffic, which nullified their best efforts to improve the condition of their charges.

Frontenac, with the economic welfare of the colony at heart, believed that for the French to withhold the brandy from the Indians, would merely result in the fur-trade going to the English. "Even if our brandy does them harm," he argued, "it at least brings them into con-

tact with Catholicism. To do away with this trade will only drive them to ruin and Protestantism." Of course, the quarrel really went deeper than the question of the liquor traffic. It was

**Brandy
and the
Indians**

really a struggle between rival jurisdictions, intensified, perhaps, by Frontenac's overbearing temper. The French government, having tried repeatedly to calm the troubled waters, at last became weary of the endless bickering; and in 1682 both Frontenac and Duchesneau were recalled. After the lapse of seven years, Frontenac was destined to return to the government of the colony; but this was to be amid a new set of conditions, when the long struggle between the French and the English for the possession of North America had already begun, — a struggle which was to end after seventy-five years in the elimination of France from North America.



NIAGARA FALLS ICE-BOUND

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AMERICA



CANADA
III

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

ENGLAND AND FRANCE BEGIN THE CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY IN NORTH AMERICA

THE struggle between the French and the English for mastery in North America had begun very early along the Atlantic seaboard, where the line of demarcation between the spheres of France and England was ill defined. The struggle was at its acutest in Acadia. From the time when Port Royal was captured in 1612 by the Virginia buccaneer, Argall, to the final cession of the Acadian peninsula to Great Britain in 1713, the history of Acadia was a succession of "alarums and excursions."

Acadia
or Nova
Scotia

In 1621, James I of England and VI of Scotland actually granted Acadia, under the name of Nova Scotia, to a Scottish favourite at his court, Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling; and Alexander sent out to Acadia a small Scottish colony, which established itself at Port Royal in a fort the ruins of which still go by the name of Old Scots Fort. The colony was financed by the creation and sale of a great number of baronetcies of Nova Scotia, many of which are still in existence. In 1628, Sir David Kirke, before his successful attack on Quebec in the following year, reduced all the French posts in Acadia, and carried Claude de la Tour, the French proprietor of the colony, to England. In 1632, however, Acadia was handed back to France; and the Scottish colony, which had not flourished, was withdrawn. The English, nevertheless, continued their efforts to undermine the French power in the peninsula. There was dissension in the colony between the La Tours and the Sieur de Charnisay, who had been sent out as the King's lieutenant-governor; and the English of Boston took advantage of this to keep the colony in a state of turmoil.

Finally, in 1654, the New Englanders sent up a body of troops under Major Robert Sedgwick, with a commission from Oliver Cromwell, and occupied Acadia. Charles de la Tour, the son of Claude de la Tour, who had, in a double-dealing sort of way, supported the English cause, was placed in charge of the colony, and continued to administer it until his death in 1666. In 1667, however, Acadia was a second time restored to France. In 1690 Port Royal was captured by the New England expedition under Sir William Phips which made, later in the same year, an unsuccessful attack at Quebec; but it was a third time handed back to France. Only after the combined British and New England attack on Port Royal in 1710 was the question of the possession of Acadia finally settled; and by that time the struggle between the English and the French in North America had extended itself to other fields.

So long as the English and French settlements in North America were confined to the seaboard, or to the banks of great rivers like the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, there was no difficulty between them, except perhaps in the region of the Penobscot. The truth was that both countries had plenty of elbow room without fighting for it. When Courcelles blundered on the English settlements in New York on an expedition against the Iroquois in 1666, he was politely received, and departed in peace after an exchange of civilities. But when inland expansion began to take place, trouble soon resulted. What particularly roused the apprehensions of the English was the invasion by the French of the Iroquois country and the Mississippi valley.

It is possible that the Upper Mississippi was reached by Radisson and Groseilliers, in the time of the Company of New France; certainly it was visited by Louis Joliet and his companion, Father Marquette, both of whom were

Joliet, Marquette and La Salle

sent out as explorers by the government of New France in 1672. The first man to follow the Mississippi to its mouth was René Robert Cavelier de La Salle, a young Norman gentleman who had come out to Canada, and devoted himself to exploration. La Salle was filled with the idea of finding the route to China and the East; and so persistent was he in his belief that such a route could be found that his friends, in mockery, gave to his seigniory near Montreal the name of *Lachine* (China), a name which the town which later grew up on the seigniory still bears.

Frontenac, who had a good idea of his capabilities, placed him in charge of the fort (Fort Frontenac) which he established at the north-east corner of Lake Ontario, on the present site of Kingston, as an outpost for the colony. In 1682 he and his men set out from near the site of the present city of Chicago, went on sledges to the Illinois, and thence down to the Mississippi, which they followed, past many an Indian village which had never before seen the white men, to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. There La Salle took possession of the whole of the Mississippi valley in the name of the King of France.

It was La Salle's intention to found a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, which would provide France with another

The Settlement of Louisiana

avenue of approach to the interior of North America. In 1684 he returned to France, and was sent out by the King at the head of a colonising expedition bound for the Gulf of Mexico. He missed the entrance to the Mississippi, however; his men mutinied; and he was shot down by the mutineers somewhere in the wilderness of Texas, in the spring

of 1687. But though his work was cut short, others carried it on.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Le Moyne d'Iberville, the first great native-born Canadian, and one of a family which has been ever since prominent in Canadian history, built a fort near the mouth of the Mississippi; and in 1718 his brother, Le Moyne de Bienville, laid the foundation of the present city of New Orleans. Gradually a chain of forts was established from the Great



SIEUR D'IBERVILLE

Was one of three brothers, all of whom rendered France signal service. He founded Louisiana, captured Newfoundland and took part in the expedition against the English in the Hudson Bay country.

Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1701 Detroit was founded by a French gentleman who had turned *coureur-de-bois*, the gallant La Mothe Cadillac; in the Illinois settlements sprang up at Kaskaskia and Cahokia; on the Mississippi arose the first beginnings of the present city of St. Louis. Gradually it dawned on the English that they were being hemmed in to the sea-coast; and that if they were to have any room for expansion westward, it behooved them to be up and doing.

In their opposition to the ambitions of the French, the English found willing allies in the Iroquois. Ever since the terrible punishment meted out to them in 1666, the Iroquois had left the French settlements on the St. Lawrence severely alone. They had turned their attention instead to the tribes lying to the westward; and after twenty years of struggle they had overrun the territories of the Eries and the Andastes. In 1680 they had reached the banks of the Mississippi, had destroyed the Illinois nation, and reached the fringe of the great plains. Here, however, they had come in touch with the war-like Sioux, as fierce as themselves, and twice as numerous. "What do you here? What do you hunt?" they were asked. "Men," came the grim reply. "You have found them," retorted the Sioux; and a fierce fight began.

The Iroquois were driven back, sadly reduced in numbers, and finding expansion to the west denied them, began to

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

turn their attention once more to the French settlements to the north. So menacing did their attitude become that La Barre, the successor of Frontenac in the governorship, decided to lead another expedition against them. He proved, however, an irresolute leader. While he vacillated, his force was ravaged by fever; he was soon forced to retire, and was recalled in disgrace. The Marquis de Denonville, who succeeded him, was an abler governor, and he was somewhat more successful in dealing with the Iroquois. In 1687 he led a strong expedition down into the heart of the Seneca country, devastated the settlements during the absence of most of the Seneca warriors, and built a fort at Niagara to keep them in check.

He was unfortunately satisfied with half measures. He merely enraged the Iroquois without crippling them, and they soon exacted a fearful revenge. In the summer of 1689, at dead of night and under cover of a storm, they fell upon the little village of Lachine, only a few miles from Montreal, and butchered a large part of its inhabitants. The massacre of Lachine stands out in Canadian history as a sort of Sicilian Vespers or St. Bartholomew's Eve. The colony was paralysed with terror; and once more its very existence seemed to be threatened by the Iroquois. Radical measures were necessary. Denonville was recalled; and the fiery old Comte de Frontenac was prevailed on, in spite of his seventy years, to return to New France to save the colony.

By this time England and France were at war in Europe; and it was apparent that the English in New England and New York were behind the Iroquois raids. Frontenac, upon his arrival in the colony, thereupon determined to strike, and strike hard, at the English. He planned a triple invasion of the English settlements; and early in 1690 war-parties, composed mainly of *coureurs-de-bois* and friendly Indians, set out from Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec. The party from Montreal, commanded by three of the Le Moyne brothers, pushed south, and falling upon the sleeping village of Schenectady, massacred the helpless English and

Dutch inhabitants; then, laden with booty, it retreated to Montreal, pursued, but without success, by the furious Mohawks.

The party from Three Rivers, after a long march through the woods, burst upon the village of Salmon Falls, on the borders of New Hampshire, and having repeated the same procedure, retreated, virtually unhindered, to effect a junction with the third party. This party, which had its base at Quebec, thus reinforced, made its way south to Fort Loyal, on Casco Bay, where the city of Portland stands to-day. Fort Loyal was attacked, captured, and rased to the ground; the garrison and the inhabitants were put to the sword; and the French here too regained Canadian soil scot free.

In these raids the French and Indians carried off many captives; and for many years afterwards, there were to be found in Indian wigwams and French convents in New France the children of Puritan parents. The cruelty and thoroughness with which these raids were conducted undoubtedly raised the prestige of France among the Indians; but they also roused the English to the most energetic measures of retaliation, and from this time must be dated the beginning of that half-century of conflict which culminated in the fall of New France in the Seven Years' War.

The year 1690 was not out before a New England fleet and army, commanded by Sir William Phips, a ship's carpenter who had acquired wealth by the recovery of Spanish treasure from a sunken galleon, appeared before Quebec. Phips had captured Port Royal on his way; but Quebec he found a harder nut to crack. Frontenac had concentrated every available man at Quebec; and when the Puritan general sent an envoy demanding the surrender of Quebec, Frontenac haughtily replied: "Go, tell your general that I will answer him only by the mouths of my cannon and with musket shots." Phips made an attempt to reduce the fortress; but he was able to make little impression on the defences with his New England troops, and at last was compelled to withdraw.

**The
Massacre
of Lachine**

**Puritan
Captives
in Canada**

**Frontenac Suc-
cessfully De-
fends Quebec**

**Frontenac Plans
to Destroy
the English**

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

But if the English were cheated of revenge at Quebec, they obtained it along the border. The Iroquois and the Indians made repeated raids up the Richelieu valley and the Upper St. Lawrence, until there was no security for life or property in this part of New France except behind fortifications and stockades. In this border warfare, there were many stirring incidents. One of the most stirring was the defence of the fort at Verchères, near the mouth of the

**A Girl
Who Saved
the Fort**

down upon the Mohawk settlements, and inflicted great damage upon them. Two years later the French were able to re-occupy Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, which had been evacuated during the régime of Denonville; and in 1696 Frontenac himself headed a punitive expedition down from Fort Frontenac into the country of the Oneidas and the Onondagas. The Iroquois began to complain that they were bearing the brunt of the struggle, with small help from the English; and by the time of the signing of



This simple but massive building was erected about 1705 by Claude de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal. When Canada came under English rule it was for a time the residence of the Governor, and next the meeting place of the Council which then made laws for Canada. It has also been used for government offices, for the Law Court, and as a school. It is now a historical museum.

Richelieu, by Madeleine, the fourteen-year-old daughter of the seignior of Verchères. When the fort was attacked by a war-party of the Iroquois in the autumn of 1692, during her father's absence, she kept the attackers at bay for over a week until help arrived, assisted only by two terrified soldiers, an old man of eighty, and her two small brothers, aged ten and twelve years—a military feat without a parallel even in the history of those stormy days.

Gradually, however, fortune began to favour the French. In 1693 Frontenac sent a mixed party of French and Indians

the Peace of Ryswick in 1698, they were ready to bury the hatchet. Hardly, however, had Frontenac freed the colony from the scourge of the Iroquois raids, when death carried him off, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the defence of Canada was left to other hands.

The peace of 1698 did not last long; and while Marlborough was conducting his wonderful campaigns on the continent of Europe, fighting went on in North America. Le Moyne d'Iberville carried havoc through the English pos-

**Border
Warfare is
Continued**

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

sessions in Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and the West Indies; and when he died in 1701 was actually contemplating a frontal attack on the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. On the other hand the English in 1710 overran Acadia, which was particularly vulnerable to attack from Boston; and in 1711 they sent a powerful expedition against Quebec under Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker. This expedition, however, came to grief on the rocks at the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and a thousand of Marlborough's veterans perished.

In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht was signed between England and France; and for a quarter of a century the two countries were officially at peace. But in North America intermittent fighting continued. Border forays continued, in which all the old barbarity was shown; and both England and France continued to prepare for the struggle for mastery in North America which both recognised to be inevitable. France had retained Cape Breton Island by the peace of 1713, and on it she began the building of the great fortress of Louisbourg, as a sentinel over the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Great sums were lavished on the construction of the fortress, so great that the French King wrote out to ask if the streets were being paved with gold. When war broke out again between England and France in 1745, Louisbourg proved such a menace to the trade of New England, on account of the privateers which found shelter there, that the New Englanders got together an expedition which they sent, under Colonel William Pepperell, to attack the fortress.

Pepperell, with the co-operation of a small British fleet, forced the French commandant to surrender; but by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 Louisbourg was given back to France in exchange for Madras in India, which had fallen into French hands, and when the Seven Years' War broke out, the reduction of Louisbourg had to be gone through with again.

Louisbourg is Taken and Returned

actual declaration of war, a crisis in the affairs of North America had been seen to be inevitable, and both sides had been making ready for the struggle. In 1755 the British took the extreme measure of expelling from Nova Scotia the entire Acadian population, which numbered several thousand souls. Over the justice and propriety of this deportation a bitter controversy has raged from that day to this. Some writers, following the lead of the poet Longfellow, in his famous hexameter poem, *Evangeline: a Tale of Acadie*, have denounced the act as one of needless inhumanity; while others, notable among them being the great Parkman, have pronounced the act to be one of military necessity. The truth probably lies between the two extremes. When Acadia was handed over to Great Britain in 1713, the Acadians had been given, by the terms of peace, the option of leaving the province within one year, or of taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown.

The Acadians had, however, done neither of these things; for the British authorities, fearful of having a depopulated province left on their hands, and of strengthening the French settlements in Cape Breton, had placed obstacles in the way of their emigration, and the Acadians, for their part, had refused to take an oath which would have obliged them to bear arms against their fellow-countrymen and against the Micmac Indians. There is no doubt that the great majority of the Acadians wished to remain, and did remain, neutral. But some of them, intimidated, as they professed, by the threats of the Indians, took the part of the French in the border warfare that broke out periodically; and the attitude of the French priests in Acadia, who were appointed by the Bishop of Quebec, was far from correct.

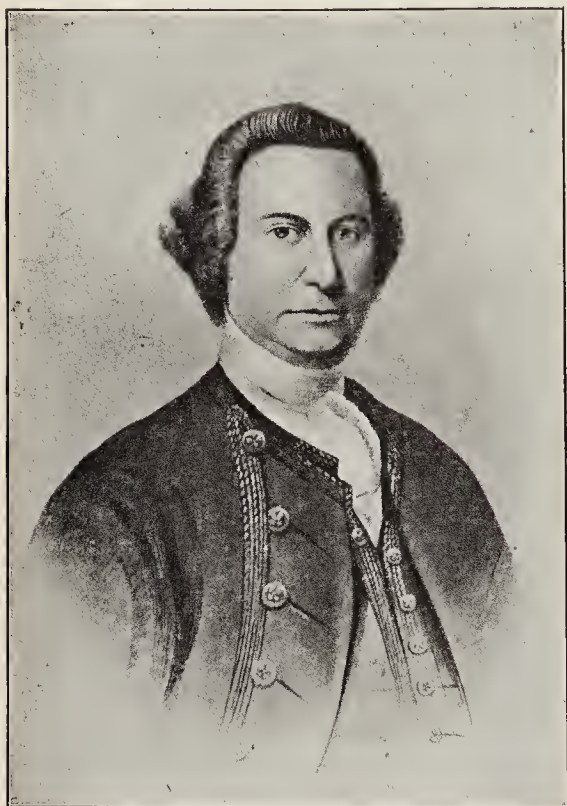
Repeated efforts were made, but without success, to induce the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance, and when war loomed up ahead, the English Governor of Nova Scotia made up his mind that the only thing to do was to deport the entire French-speaking population, as they constituted a perpet-

How the Deportation Was Managed

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

The Seven Years' War began officially in 1756. But for some time before the

ual menace to the struggling English settlements at Halifax and elsewhere. To allow the Acadians to cross over to the French settlements in Cape Breton or Canada would, however, have been merely to play into the enemy's hand; and it was therefore decided to deport them to the various American colonies. In the autumn of 1755 the population of the Annapolis valley, of the Basin of Minas, and of the Chignecto isthmus was rounded up, herded on transports, and packed off to the care of the various Eng-



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

Lived in feudal state among the Iroquois Indians, over whom he exercised a powerful influence.

lish colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. In the confusion of embarkation, families were separated; and in some cases the members of these families did not come together again for many years.

This deportation was undoubtedly a harsh measure, and was rendered necessary, not only by the failure of the Acadians, a poorly instructed agricultural people, to understand the nature of their obligations, but also by the failure of the British in Nova Scotia to deal fairly and satisfactorily with a subject people. At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that the presence of the Acadians

in Nova Scotia would have been a great source of weakness to the British in the Seven Years' War.

Meanwhile, military operations were beginning. Months before the declaration of war in Europe, the British authorities in America had planned a vigorous offensive against the French. No less than four distinct attacks were launched. General Braddock, an imperial officer, with a force of colonials and regulars, was sent against Fort Duquesne, an outpost which the French had built on disputed territory in the Ohio valley; Governor Shirley was to march upon the fort at the mouth of the Niagara River; Sir William Johnson, the famous "Indian-tamer," was to attack the French at Crown Point on Lake Champlain; and Colonel Monckton, with the British forces in Nova Scotia, was to drive the French from Fort Beauséjour, in the debatable ground of the Chignecto isthmus.

Some of these expeditions were successful. Monckton, thanks to the cowardly behaviour of the French commandant, Vergor, at Beauséjour, had no difficulty in achieving his object; and Johnson, after a sharp fight, defeated the forces of Baron Dieskau, the commander of the French regular forces, near Lake George, and built Fort William Henry on the ground he had won. But Shirley, owing to the menace of a French attack on his base at Oswego, never came within striking distance of Niagara; and Braddock suffered on the banks of the

**The Results
of the English
Expeditions**

Monongahela River one of the worst defeats in the history of British arms. Unfamiliar with forest warfare, Braddock and his troops were ambushed as they approached Fort Duquesne; and in their massed formation, conspicuous in brilliant scarlet and bright steel, were picked off in hundreds by the invisible Indians and Canadians. Braddock was killed; and only the resource and presence of mind of a young colonial officer named George Washington, prevented the complete annihilation of the force.

For the first two or three years of the war the honours rested with the French. In 1756 the command of the French army in Canada was taken over by the

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

Marquis of Montcalm, a great soldier who was also a great man. He was of but, medium height, and when the Indians saw him they were at first disappointed on this account. "We thought," they said, "his head would have been lost in the clouds." But on coming

The Coming of Montcalm

face to face with him, they fell under the spell of his presence. "When I look into your eyes," said an old chief to him, "I see the height of the pine and the wings of the eagle." Like Cæsar, he was a master of language as well as a master of tactics; and had he devoted himself to literature, he might well have sat in the French Academy. But he devoted himself to the service of his country in the field; and though he did not succeed in saving New France, he achieved a failure hardly less glorious than success. "I will save New France," he wrote to Versailles, "or perish in the attempt;" and he was as good as his word.

At first victory perched on his banners. In 1756 he captured, by a well-executed movement, the important English fort at Oswego, on the south shore of Lake Ontario. The next summer he captured Fort William Henry, the fortification that had been built by Sir William Johnson two years before on Lake George; though a massacre of the English prisoners by the Indian allies of the French somewhat dimmed the lustre of the achievement. And in the summer of 1758 he repulsed with terrific losses an attack by overwhelming forces of the British at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain.

But there were factors in the situation which not even his genius could convert into omens of victory. In the first place, there was in the colony the vice of divided authority. Montcalm was the commander of the French regu-

lars; but the Governor, the Marquis of Vaudreuil, was the titular commander-in-chief, and Vaudreuil chose to thwart Montcalm on all possible occasions. Had Vaudreuil not countermanded an order of Montcalm's on the eve of the capture of Quebec, it is probable that Wolfe's army would never have reached the Plains of Abraham. "I think it very strange," wrote Montcalm to him on one occasion, after the receipt of some ridiculous orders, "that you find yourself, at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, so well able to make war in a country you have never seen."



GENERAL MONTCALM

Montcalm was appointed commander of the French troops in Canada, where, in defending Quebec against the English, with General Wolfe at their head, he was mortally wounded, dying within a few hours of the fall of the city.

In the second place, the government of the colony was honeycombed with corruption. The Intendant Bigot, a clever unscrupulous man with a genius for organisation which, had it been turned to legitimate ends, might have been a great source of strength to the colony, had gathered about him a ring of plunderers who combined to strip the colony bare. Bigot set up at Quebec a storehouse, called by the people "*La Friponne*" (the

Cheat), where he sold to the inhabitants at fabulous prices the corn he had commandeered from them for nothing at all. His subordinate, Cadet, who had the contract for furnishing supplies to every French post from Gaspé to Michillimackinac, received for his supplies as much as ten times the contract price; and when Bigot was later confronted with the vouchers for these transactions, he took the ground that, after the contract was let, prices had risen one thousand per cent. Whether Vaudreuil was in league with the plunderers is uncertain; but at any rate he did nothing to check their operations. "Everyone," wrote Montcalm, "seems to be in a hurry to make his fortune before the colony is lost." "What a country," he exclaimed in another letter, "where rogues grow rich, and honest men are ruined."

The Difficulties of Montcalm

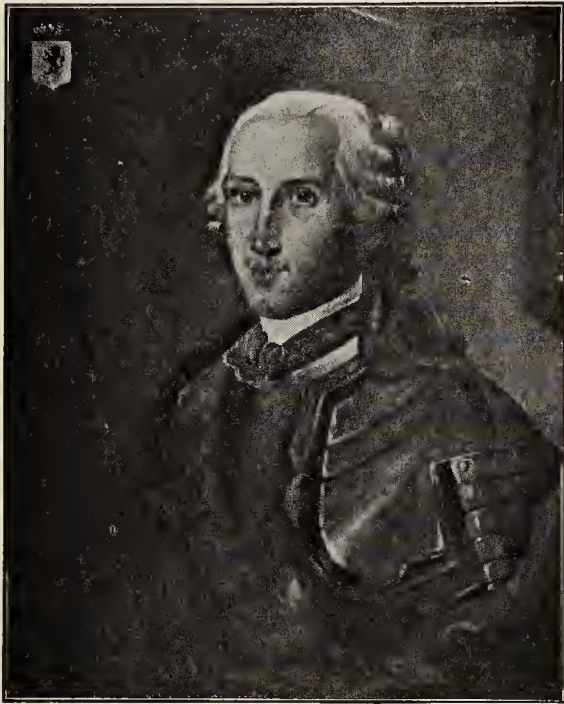
A third source of weakness was that New France's communications with the mother country were in a precarious way. During the reign of Louis XV, whose policy with regard to Canada had been epitomised by the remark that "when the house is on fire, the master does not worry about the stables," the French navy had been allowed to sink into neglect. At the same time, the English navy had been increasing in strength,

The month after the capture of Louisbourg, another victory was recorded: Colonel Bradstreet, crossing Lake Ontario, took Fort Frontenac, which stood where Kingston now stands. And at the end of the year, the indefatigable John Forbes, so ill that he had to be carried on a stretcher, occupied Fort Duquesne, which he named "Pittsburgh;" and so the disgrace of Braddock's defeat was wiped out. All these setbacks greatly disheartened Montcalm. He had already applied for leave to return to France; but with the outlook gradually darkening, he could not find it in his heart to desert the colony. He had no illusions about the situation. "Can we hope for another miracle to save us?" he wrote to his wife. "God's will be done! . . . Adieu, my heart, I believe I love you more than ever."

The year 1759 saw the siege of Quebec. Quebec was the key of New France, and the main objective of the English campaign. If it were captured and held, the colony was as good as conquered.

With wonderful seamanship Admiral Saunders took the fleet up the St. Lawrence to the Quebec basin; and the British army under General Wolfe disembarked on the Island of Orleans and the Levis shore, and began the siege. The fortress proved, however, not easy to take. Montcalm had concentrated all his available forces about Quebec, and he held the north shore in such force that Wolfe was nowhere able to effect a landing. An attempt to land on the Beauport shore ended only in disaster.

Wolfe had begun almost to despair of making a breach in the French line of defence, when he hit upon the plan of making, under cover of a demonstration in force elsewhere, a landing by night at a cove a few miles above Quebec, where a steep path led to the plains above. The plan was put into effect; the small guard at the top of the path, which was commanded by the cowardly officer who had surrendered Fort Beauséjour in Acadia four years before, fled at the first alarm; and Wolfe's men scrambled up the path to the Plains of Abraham. When morning broke, the French saw from the walls of



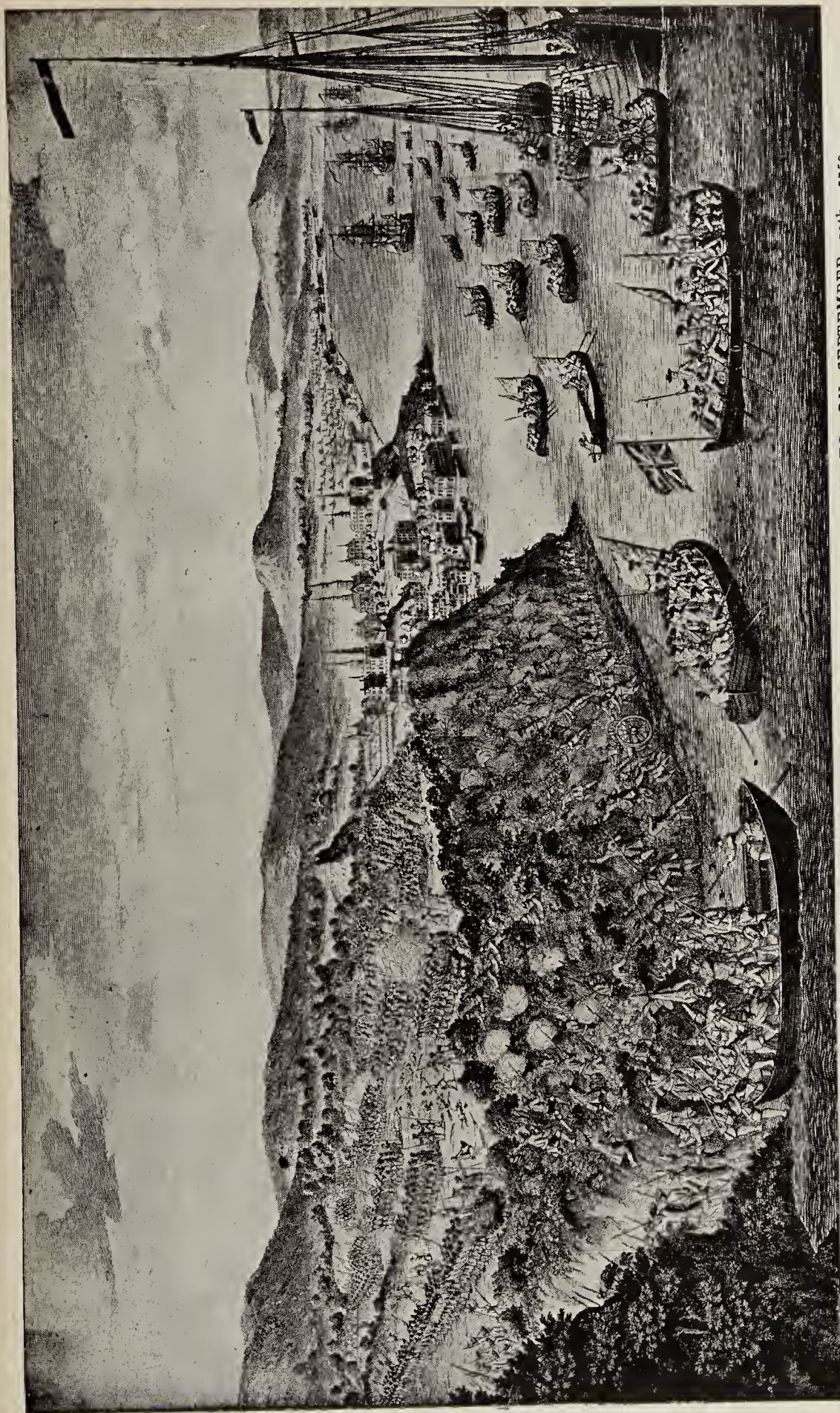
MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL

Became Governor of Canada in 1755, and seems to have been unable to work in harmony with the Marquis de Montcalm, the military commander.

and under the elder Pitt it was destined to prove the decisive factor in the struggle for empire in India and Canada.

The turn of the tide came in 1758. In that year the English scored their first important success with the capture of the powerful fortress of Louisbourg in Cape Breton, which guarded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The Chevalier Drucour, the French commandant, made a brave defence; but the English fleet and army carried all before them. The siege was also important because it brought into prominence James Wolfe. Wolfe, who was one of Pitt's discoveries, was a very young man and the junior brigadier; yet he proved to be the head and heart of the attack.



THE BATTLE THAT WON CANADA: GENERAL WOLFE'S CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, ON SEPTEMBER 13th, 1759
The struggles between England and France for the possession of Quebec came to a conclusion at day-dawn on September 13th, 1759. Twice before the British had attempted to recapture the city, but without success. In February, 1759, General Wolfe sailed from England, landing opposite Quebec in June. The attack proved one of tremendous difficulty. On the eve of the 13th, Wolfe and his troops, at a point insufficiently guarded, mounted to the Plains of Abraham, where a short, decisive battle followed, the French being completely routed. The above picture shows the scene on that historic morning, which decided the fate of France in America.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

the citadel Wolfe's army drawn up in battle array to the west.

Montcalm had two courses open to him. He could either wait behind his weak fortifications until both sides had brought up all their reserves, or he could attempt to crush Wolfe before the disembarkation of his army was complete. Like the brave man he was, he chose the latter alternative. At the head of his troops, he sallied out of the gates of Quebec, and

in the battle both Wolfe and Montcalm fell, mortally wounded. Wolfe died on the field, sinking back gratefully when he heard that the enemy were on the run; Montcalm passed away that night in Quebec, and was buried in a shell-hole in the convent of the Ursulines. The next day Ramezay, the commandant of Quebec, acting on the advice of Montcalm, surrendered; and the British entered the walls.



THE HARBOUR OF HALIFAX IN 1760

Halifax was an important port from its first settlement in 1749. During the Revolution it was the chief British port in America, and its importance has increased, with the growth of Canadian commerce.

advanced to the attack. The French advanced, firing irregularly; but in the British ranks no movement was visible, except when one man stepped up to fill the place of another. Not until only forty paces intervened between the two armies did the British line stir. Then a sharp command rang out, and two devastating volleys swept away the front of the French force.

The French officers did their best to rally their men, but first the Canadians and then the regulars broke and ran, pursued closely by Wolfe's Highlanders, who, claymore in hand, followed them to the very walls of Quebec. Unfortunately,

All that winter the British, under the command of General Murray, one of Wolfe's brigadiers, sat tight in Quebec. The relations between the British soldiers and the French-Canadians seem to have been most amicable. The French-Canadian women, taking pity on the bare knees of the Highlanders, knitted them leggins. In the spring the Chevalier de Lévis, Montcalm's successor, advanced from Montreal, and defeated Murray at a battle near St. Foye. But Lévis, unlike Wolfe, did not succeed in taking Quebec itself, and a few weeks later, with the opening of navigation a British ship came sailing up the river. The flag that flut-

France
Gives Up
the Contest

Wolfe and
Montcalm Both
Mortally Wounded



THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY, ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, SEPTEMBER 13th, 1759

General Wolfe's supreme moment of victory came with that of his death. The bitter struggle for Quebec was at last over, the French forces were vanquished, the British flag would shortly wave over the city after an interval of 130 years, and Montcalm's dream of a French Canada lay shattered, himself at the point of death. Foremost in the fighting on the Plains of Abraham, General Wolfe, who had emerged scatheless from the battles of Dettingen, of Culloden, and of Lawfeldt, was mortally wounded, and the above picture shows the great English soldier, breathing his last in the presence of a few of his faithful followers. His body was taken home, and buried in Greenwich Church.

From the painting by Benjamin West



GENERAL MONTCALM'S RETURN TO QUEBEC, MORTALLY WOUNDED, AFTER THE
BATTLE ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

tered from its masthead was a mute evidence of Great Britain's continued control of the sea; and as soon as the



JAMES WOLFE

Was born in 1727, and became a soldier. His service in American War was notable for his share in the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, and for the capture of Quebec the next year. He died at the moment of victory.

British in Quebec had been reinforced, Lévis was forced to fall back on Montreal. Later in the year he was obliged to capitulate with the honours of war.

What determined the fate of Canada was not the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, but the sea-power of Great Britain. Wolfe's army was merely a landing-party on a large scale; and so long as the British fleet kept open communications with Great Britain, and prevented communication between Canada and France, it

**The Influence
of the
Sea Power**

was bound to gain its objective sooner or later. If the

first ship that came up the St. Lawrence in 1760 had flown the *fleur-de-lys*, Wolfe's victory

might have been of no avail. But that does not alter the fact that the Battle of the Plains of Abraham was a very gallant passage-at-arms between two soldiers of equal genius but unequal fortune.

For three years Canada was governed by the military rule of Murray and his brother officers, who wisely made use of the French-Canadian captains of militia in the administration of justice; and in 1763 Canada was formally ceded to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris. Louisiana was ceded to Spain; and all that France retained of her North American possessions were the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were to be a shelter for her fishing ships on the banks of Newfoundland.

But though France was driven out of North America, the British were not to enjoy possession of their new domains without a further struggle.

**The Con-
spiracy of
Pontiac** Hardly had the news of the Peace of Paris been published when the Indians who had been

allied with the French rose in one last struggle against the white invader. All the Algonquin tribes, the Wyandots, and even some of the Iroquois, joined in a confederacy under the leadership of the Ottawa chieftain Pontiac. From Lake Superior to Virginia they attacked and overwhelmed the frontier posts, enacting frightful scenes of carnage; and only Detroit, under Major Gladwyn, held out.

Gradually, however, the British recovered the ground they had lost. Colonel Bouquet, a Swiss soldier of fortune in the British Army, won the battle of Bushy Run, and relieved Fort Pitt; after nearly a year of siege Pontiac was compelled to retreat from before the walls of Detroit; and shortly afterwards he was forced to make peace. With the collapse of "the Conspiracy of Pontiac," as the outbreak is known, the British gained undisputed possession of Canada; and the Union Jack flew supreme from the shores of Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico.





BRITISH SOLDIERS DRAWING WOOD AT QUEBEC DURING THE WINTER OF 1759-60
From a painting by Macnaughton

AMERICA



CANADA
IV

THE STORY OF CANADIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

THE PROGRESS FROM ARBITRARY TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

THE PERIOD OF ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT

A HAPPIER calamity never befell a people," wrote Francis Parkman, "than the conquest of Canada by British arms." The remark, so far as it had reference to the misrule of the later days of the French period, was true and just.

Government Under French Rule But it does not mean, and was not intended to mean, that the conquest introduced into Canada an ideal state of affairs. Over a century was to elapse in Canada before a satisfactory form of government was evolved, or the problems arising from the government of a conquered people, complicated as they were by questions of religion as well as of race, reached a solution. And even today it cannot be said that problems arising out of the conquest never appear.

From 1760 to 1763 Canada was governed by military rule, under which, as the Duke of Wellington said, "the will of the commander-in-chief is law." Justice

Temporary Government Established was administered by the British officers, according to the crude ideas of law they possessed at that time; and in some districts the services of the French-Canadian captains of militia were pressed into use. In 1763, however, when Canada was formally ceded by France to Great Britain, a Royal Proclamation was issued setting up civil government. This proclamation was intended to be merely a temporary measure. The only machinery of government it set up was a Governor and a nominated Council; though it promised a representative as-

sembly as soon as the state of the colony should admit. It was not, however, immediately supplemented by any further measure; and sketchy as it was, it remained the constitution of Canada until the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774.

The French-Canadian Question The first civil Governor of Canada was General James Murray, who had been Wolfe's successor after the Battle of the Plains, and who had administered the affairs of the colony during the period of military rule. Murray was a high-minded, but choleric Scot, with a valiant record in the army; when he died his body was found to contain several bullets received on the battlefields of Europe and America. His official life in Canada was not a bed of roses. With the "New Subjects," as the French-Canadians were called, he had indeed no trouble, for he espoused their interests in no uncertain manner. He described them as "perhaps the bravest and the best race upon the Globe, a race, who cou'd they be indulged with a few privileges which the Laws of England deny to Roman Catholicks at home, wou'd soon get the better of every National Antipathy to their Conquerors and become the most faithful and most useful set of men in this American Empire."

Murray's chief difficulty was with the "Old Subjects," the English-speaking element that had flocked into the country in the wake of the army. These men were mostly of a low type, and were few in number; Murray dismissed them as "four hundred and fifty contemptible sutlers and traders." But they regarded themselves as the sole citizens of the

country; had they had their way, they would have proscribed the whole French-Canadian Roman Catholic population; and they demanded a representative assembly in which they alone should have the right of sitting. The idea of four hundred and fifty British tradespeople lording it over sixty thousand odd French-Canadians did not apparently strike their sense of humour. Between them and the military there was from the first little love lost; and in Montreal feeling was so high that some of the officers

**English
versus
French**

of the garrison invaded the house of a merchant named Walker, who had made himself obnoxious to them, and slit off one of his ears. The truth was that Murray and his entourage had much more in common with the French-Canadian upper classes than with their own compatriots, and were at no pains to conceal the fact. The English commercial element in Canada, however, had influential London business connections, and through them they were able to bring about the recall of Murray in 1766. One of their complaints against him was that he did not frequently enough attend church.

Murray's successor was Colonel Guy Carleton, who had been Wolfe's Quarter-master-General before Quebec in 1759. Carleton, who was afterwards knighted for his services, and then raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester, was the greatest figure in the early history of British rule in Canada. He was not only a first-rate soldier, but he was also an administrator of a very high character; one of his first acts in the colony was the refusal to accept any of the fees and perquisites of his office, on the ground that it had "an appearance of dirt." He proved hardly less favourable to the French-Canadians than Murray, though he did not perhaps antagonise so bitterly the English element.

He believed that the French would always be in the majority in Canada: "This country must, to the end of time, be peopled by the Canadian race, who have already taken such firm root . . . that any new stock transplanted will be totally hid, and imperceptible amongst them, except in the towns of Quebec and Montreal." His policy was,

**Lord
Dorchester's
Opinions**

therefore, to conciliate the French-Canadians by all means in his power. One of his first measures, for instance, was to alleviate the legal disabilities under which they lay. The Proclamation of 1763 had promised the inhabitants of Canada "the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of Our realm of England;" but it had been found impossible to make a clean sweep of the French laws. In 1766, Carleton permitted the French-Canadians to sit on juries, and allowed advocates to plead in French; and in 1767, he issued an ordinance confirming for the French-Canadians the French land laws.

Carleton's policy culminated in the Quebec Act of 1774. This Act superseded the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and remained the constitution of Canada until 1791. It was conceived solely in the interests of the French-Canadians. The arbitrary government of the Governor and Council appointed by the Crown — a kind of government to which the French were used — was continued. No representative assembly was set up, since it was considered impossible to give the French-Canadian Roman Catholics political rights in Canada which English Roman Catholics did not possess at that time in Great Britain, and it was absurd to think of giving the handful of English in the colony a representative assembly from which the vast majority of the inhabitants of the colony were for the time excluded.

The English criminal law remained in force, since it was considered more lenient and more efficient; but the French-

Canadians were given their civil law *in toto*, not only the land laws but the commercial laws as well.

And lastly, great concessions were made to the Roman Catholic Church. The way was paved for the informal recognition of a French-Canadian Roman Catholic Bishop, and the payment of the tithe by Roman Catholics was enforced by law. This amounted to the endowment, if not the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec — a truly extraordinary result, when the disabilities under which Roman Catholics in England laboured at that time are remembered.

The wisdom of the Quebec Act has been much debated. On the one hand,

THE STORY OF CANADIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

the view has been taken that the Act has produced in British North America a solid French Canada, and that had a less conciliatory policy been pursued, the French-Canadians might in time have been Anglicised. On the other hand, it has been contended that a policy of repression and denationalisation has almost invariably defeated its own ends, and that such a policy in Canada would probably have thrown the French-Canadians into the arms of the American revolutionists, who were just then beginning to take up arms against the mother country. Certainly after France joined hands with the revolting colonies, there would have been grave danger that the French-Canadians would have revolted, and that Canada would be lost to Great Britain.

But whatever may have been the wisdom of the act, it cannot be denied that it bore hardly on the "Old Subjects."

Objections of the "Old Subjects" These people had come into Canada on the distinct understanding, based upon the Royal Proclamation of 1763, that they would enjoy the benefit of English laws and English institutions; and their anger may be imagined when they found that not only were they denied representative government, but they were deprived also of trial by jury in civil cases and the Habeas Corpus Act, and were compelled to carry on their business under the archaic provisions of the French commercial law. It doubtless seemed to many of them as if the heavens would fall when in an English colony, under the English flag, they were robbed of those liberties which Englishmen regarded as their birthright.

The clamour raised by the "Old Subjects" against the Quebec Act was loud and long; but it is unlikely that it would

The United Empire Loyalists have produced much effect on the policy of the British Government toward Canada, had it not been for an altogether unforeseen circumstance. This was the immigration into Canada, at the end of the American Revolutionary War, of the United Empire Loyalists. Driven from their homes by the rabid persecution of the revolutionists, these ill-starred exiles were given lands by the British Government in Canada, Nova Scotia, Prince

Edward Island, and what became in 1784 the province of New Brunswick. Some thirty thousand Loyalists settled in the provinces by the sea; and over ten thousand settled in Canada proper, mainly on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, above Montreal, about the Bay of Quinté, at Niagara, and at Detroit.

These Loyalists had been described by their Whig opponents as "Tories;" but they had been accustomed in the American colonies to an extreme type of democratic government, and they found it no easier than the English element already in the country to reconcile themselves to arbitrary government and foreign laws.

Objections to Arbitrary Rule Petitions began to flow in from them, asking that they might "be governed by the British Constitution and Laws for the support of which and his Majesty's Crown and Dignity we first took up Arms in Opposition to the American Congress." Carleton attempted to satisfy them with a sort of county organisation, with elements of local government in it; but this arrangement failed to satisfy them. The British Government then decided to draw up a new constitution for Canada, in an attempt to satisfy all elements in the country; and the Quebec Government Bill, generally known as the Constitutional Act, was put through the Houses of Parliament, and became law in 1791. This Act set up representative institutions in Canada, and thus brought to an end the period of arbitrary government. It marked the passing of the first milestone in the political development of the colony.

REPRESENTATIVE AND IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The Constitutional Act divided Canada into two provinces, Upper Canada and Lower Canada, the boundary line between which was roughly the Ottawa River. In Upper Canada, which had been settled by the United Empire Loyalists, English laws and institutions were to prevail; while in Lower Canada those privileges which had been granted to the French-Canadians by the Quebec Act were to be continued. Canada was virtually divided into English and French areas. The executive government was

Canada is Divided

placed in the hands of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, with authority over both provinces; but he was to be assisted in each province by a Lieutenant-governor and an executive Council, also appointed by the Crown. As a matter of fact, it was found later in practice that the Governor, owing to geographical reasons, as a rule confined his attention to Lower Canada; and the Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada became therefore practically independent in his western jurisdiction.

In each province there was also a legislature, composed of two chambers. The Upper Chamber, known as the Legislative Council, was made up of nominees of the Crown; whereas the Lower House, the Legislative Assembly, was made up of representatives elected by the people. The granting of representative institutions to the French-Canadians, who had never enjoyed anything of the sort before, was recognised to be something of an experiment; but representative government could not well be given to one province when it was not given to the other.

The Constitutional Act was a clever solution of the problems of 1791; but it carried within it the seeds of future trouble. In the first place, the division of Canada into Upper and Lower Canada was certain to accentuate the cleavage between the two races in Canada, and to place the English element in the lower province at the mercy of the French-Canadian population around them. The merchants were to be controlled by laws made by uneducated farmers of another race and religion. In the second place, the Act gave the people of Canada representative government without responsible government, something of which Lord Durham said many years afterwards that he failed to understand how any English statesman ever imagined it would work. The people of Canada were given a voice in the affairs of the province through the representatives which they elected to the Legislative Assembly; but the Assembly had little real influence on the course of government. The reins of government in each province were placed by the Act in the hands of a petty local oligarchy or

bureaucracy, composed of members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, which came to be known in Upper Canada as the "Family Compact" and in Lower Canada as the "Château clique." This local oligarchy had complete control of the executive functions of government; and even in matters of legislation they were able to checkmate the designs of the Assembly either by vote of the Legislative Council or by veto of the Governor.

The Governor and his Council regarded themselves, and rightly, as responsible, not to the Assembly, but to the Secretary of State at Westminster; and so long as a large part of the cost of government in Canada was borne by the Imperial Exchequer, it was only natural that such would be the case. But the day was bound to come when the people of Upper and Lower Canada would be able to bear, and would insist on bearing, the whole cost of government; and it did not need a prophet to foresee that they would then advance, through their representative Assemblies, a claim to oversee in detail the expenditure of the moneys they had voted. In that day there would be trouble in Israel.

Some minor defects were also present in the Act. One of its claims made provision for the setting apart, for the purpose of "the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy," of a certain proportion of all crown lands which should be granted out. The exact meaning of the term, "Protestant clergy," was unfortunately left uncertain. Did it mean the clergy of the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, or the clergy of all Protestant denominations? The ambiguity of the clause proved to be later a fruitful source of trouble; and the "clergy reserves question," as the dispute came to be known, proved a cause of agitation in Canadian politics for over half-a-century.

Another defect was the attempt to make provision for an hereditary aristocracy in Canada. It was not intended to create a Canadian peerage, but merely a Canadian baronetage, the titles to be attached perhaps to seats in the Legislative Council. The object of the proposal

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was to strengthen the aristocratic element in Canada, as a bulwark against the republicanism of the revolted colonies to the south. But the proposal was vigorously attacked, both in England and in Canada. Charles James Fox, in the House of Commons, asked "if those red and blue ribbons which have lost their lustre in the Old World are to shine forth again in the New." The British authorities in Canada saw the folly of such a proposal in a new country; and the plan was happily allowed to drop.

The course of events under the Constitutional Act differed somewhat in Upper and Lower Canada, for the reason that in

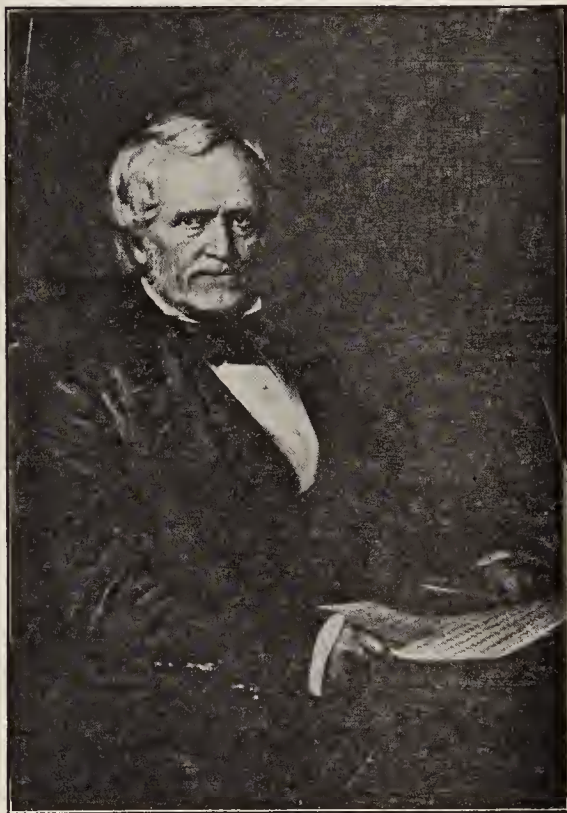
The "Family Compact" in Upper Canada was complicated by the racial problem, whereas in Lower Canada the situation was complicated by the

Upper Canada it was not. It is therefore necessary to deal with each province separately. In Upper Canada it was not long before there arose in York (now Toronto), which became the provincial capital in 1796, a firmly entrenched and rigidly exclusive social oligarchy. The term "Family Compact" was not applied to it until about 1828; but the thing connoted existed many years before that. It was composed of the members of the two councils and of the civil service, and it became so powerful that it was able to dominate successive Lieutenant-governors.

The principle by which admission to its charmed circle was determined, it is difficult to discover. Birth was certainly no open sesame. Some of the early members of the clique were of quite humble origin: one was a former artisan, and another had been a Methodist preacher. The Rev. John Strachan, rector of York, who came to be one of the leading figures in the "Family Compact," was the son of an Aberdeenshire quarryman. On the other hand, Charles Burton Wyatt, whose brother was the Duke of Wellington's private secretary, and John Walpole Willis, who was married to the daughter of an earl, were excluded. Nor was there much family connection among the members of the group, except from intermarriage in the younger generation. Strachan, for instance, had no relatives in Canada until his son married in 1844 the daughter of John Beverly Robinson, the chief justice of the prov-

ince. On the whole, the members of the "Family Compact" were men of ability and integrity; but human nature would not be what it is had not abuses crept in under such a system of government. Especially in the administration of the Crown Lands department, irregularities took place of a very grave sort.

The first attack on the official oligarchy took place in the opening years



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

Was born in Scotland in 1795, but came to Canada when a young man, when he soon became a leader of the discontented. He was the leader of the rebellion of 1837 at Toronto.

of the nineteenth century. A group of Irishmen, many of whom were filled with Irish Republican ideas, and who became known as "Jacobins," set up an agitation, both in the country and in the Assembly. But one of them, William Weekes, who had been a student in the law-office of the famous Aaron Burr, was killed in a duel; most of the rest were driven out of the province; and the only survivor, Joseph Willcocks, went over to the Americans in the War of 1812, and was killed at the siege of Fort Erie in the uniform of a colonel of the United States Army.

The
Oligarchy
is Attacked

The next assailant of the "Family Compact" was Robert Gourlay, an eccentric Scotsman who came out to Canada from England in 1817. Gourlay's attack was marked by a note of hysteria. "Corruption," he wrote, "has reached such a height . . . that no other part of the British Empire witnesses the like." The government would have done well to let him alone; but instead they prosecuted him, first as a seditious person, and then as an alien. He was thrown into prison; a writ of *Habeas Corpus* was for months denied him; his trial was a caricature of justice; and he left Canada broken down in mind, body and estate.

The man who brought the matter to a head in the province was William Lyon Mackenzie, a little excitable Scotsman who founded in 1824 a newspaper named the *Colonial Advocate*. Mackenzie attacked the ruling class with such scurrility in the columns of his paper that in 1826 his press was attacked by a band of the sons of the "Family Compact" party; and part of the machines and type was thrown into the harbour. This made Mackenzie a popular hero. He was elected to the Assembly; and then a long struggle began between him and the government which culminated in armed rebellion in 1837. Five times Mackenzie was elected to the Assembly, and five times he was expelled. Only when the Reformers, as the opponents of the government were called, were in the majority, was he able to retain his seat. The better class of the Reformers, such men as Marshall Spring Bidwell and Robert Baldwin, did not have much to do with Mackenzie, for the little man was little more than a firebrand, and had no statesmanship about him; but in the eyes of the people Mackenzie came to be regarded as the great champion of their rights.

It was Mackenzie who drew up in 1835 the *Seventh Report of the Committee on Grievances*, which was in a sense the petition of right of the Reformers of Upper Canada. In it the abuses in connection with the administration of justice, the building of public works, and the granting of the crown lands were attacked. Especial emphasis

was laid on the evil of the Clergy Reserves, which were not only obnoxious to the majority of the people in the province because they were applied only for the benefit of the Church of England, but which were also a drag on economic progress, since they retarded the settlement of the province, making impossible a population of sufficient density to keep up roads, schools, post-offices, and such things.

The remedies proposed in the *Report* for the grievances complained of, were in the main two. In the first place, the application of the principle of election to the Legislative Council was proposed, so that the Upper House would no longer be able to block, at the behest of the "Family Compact," the legislation initiated in the Assembly; and in the second place, the introduction of "a responsible government" was recommended. How far the *Report* contemplated the introduction of what we now know as responsible government, with its complicated machinery and unwritten conventions, is uncertain; certainly no attempt was made to explain in detail how the principle of responsible government was to be put into effect; and all that can be said is that the vague idea was thrown out.

In 1835 the Reformers were in the majority in the Assembly; but in the elections of 1836 they were badly defeated. This was largely due to the fact that Sir Francis Bond-Head, the Lieutenant-governor, threw himself into the election on the side of the "Family Compact," as though he were a candidate for office.

He represented the Reformers as disloyal—an argument that the "Family Compact" leaders were never tired of employing—and he frightened many of the electors into thinking that the British connection was at stake. The result was partly explained also by the fact that the Methodists, a powerful body in the province, who had hitherto supported the Reformers, were swung by the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, one of their leading clergymen, into line with the "Family Compact."

Mackenzie's disappointment at the result of the elections was profound. This disappointment was further in-

William
Lyon
Mackenzie

Reform
Suffers a
Reverse

The Grievance
of the
Reformers

creased by the news of some resolutions introduced into the House of Commons at Westminster by Lord John Russell, which made it clear that the British government had no intention of granting the demands of the Reformers. Gradually Mackenzie came to the conclusion that constitutional agitation had failed, and that there was no recourse but to the arbitrament of the sword. In the late summer of 1837 he set to work secretly to organise a revolt; and in the beginning of December the revolt broke out near Toronto, the capital of the province.

Meanwhile events in Lower Canada had been tending in the same direction; though here the constitutional issue became fused with, and took on the colour of, the racial issue. The relations between the French and the English members in the Legislative Assembly were for some time quite amicable; but as soon as the French-Canadians, who of course were in a large majority in the House, began to find their feet and to feel their power, the trouble began. The first explosion took place during the régime of Sir James Craig, a distinguished soldier who was, however, lacking in some of the qualities that go to make up a good civil administrator.

The occasion for trouble arose on the question of new taxation. The English, who were the commercial element, wished to lay the new taxation on land; the French, who were the agricultural element, wished to lay the taxes on commerce. In order to give their views publicity, some of the French members founded in 1806 a newspaper, *Le Canadien*. Sir James Craig, regarding some of the utterances of *Le Canadien* as dangerous, imprisoned some of its editors, and refused to grant them writ of *Habeas Corpus* or a trial. This illegal action so roused the French that they dubbed Craig's régime "The Reign of Terror;" and by that name it is still known among French-Canadian writers.

Craig's successor, Sir George Prevost, reversed his policy, and succeeded in getting the French-Canadians to rally splendidly round the British flag in the war of 1812. But when the war was over, the political struggle broke out anew. In

1818 the British government accepted the offer of the Lower Canada Assembly to vote the supplies necessary, apart from the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown, to pay for the cost of government in the province. But when the Assembly attempted to assert, on the strength of this, a right to oversee the administration of the public money—to control, in short, the executive—both the British and the colonial authorities objected.

They took the ground, and there was



LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU

Was born in Montreal. He became the leader of the French Canadian party in the Assembly. He plotted rebellion against English authority and favoured annexation to the United States.

logic in their position, that the Governor took his instructions from the Colonial Office, and that he could not at the same time take them from the Assembly. Rather than have the Governor and the Assembly come into direct conflict, however, use was made of the Legislative Council as a buffer between the two; and all measures of which the executive government did not approve were thrown out by their friends and nominees in the council. The Assembly, determined to gain its point, resorted to various shifts and expedients. It refused to re-enact the Militia Bill; it "tacked" provisions for the redress of grievances to supply

The
War
of 1812

bills, on the ground that supply and redress went together; and when these measures failed, it refused to vote supplies altogether.

The leader in this agitation was a French-Canadian politician, of great eloquence and charm of manner, named Louis Joseph Papineau. Papineau had fought on the British side in the war of 1812; and as late as 1820, he had professed great admiration for the constitution of 1791 and the benefits of British rule. But he, like all his compatriots, was deeply stirred by an attempt of the English element in Lower Canada to bring about a union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1822, with the object of swamping the French-Canadian vote. His position as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly brought him into personal conflict with several successive Governors, and gradually he veered around to an attitude that was anti-British and revolutionary. He became so uncompromising and irreconcilable that many of the *patriotes*, as the Lower Canada Reformers called themselves, refused any longer to follow his lead.

Papineau's programme was embodied in the famous Ninety-Two Resolutions, which he was largely responsible for introducing in the Assembly in 1834.

These resolutions were an extraordinary production. Lord Aylmer, the Governor, said that eleven of them represented truth, six contained truth mixed with falsehood, sixteen were ridiculous, seven were repetitions, fourteen consisted of abuse, four were both false and seditious, and the remaining five were indifferent. The chief remedy they proposed was the application of the principle of election to the Legislative Council, so that the French-Canadians would be able to control both houses of the legislature. Of the remedy of responsible government, there was not a word in them. Indeed, there is no greater mistake than to regard Papineau as one of the fathers of responsible government. He was at heart a Republican, and came in the end to believe that Canada should be annexed to the United States.

The answer of the British government to the Ninety-Two Resolutions and the

refusal of the Lower Canada Assembly to vote supplies, was the Russell Resolutions, to which reference has already been made. These resolutions, which were passed by the British parliament in 1836, authorised the payment of moneys by the executive government of Lower Canada without the sanction of the Assembly, and made it quite clear that the demand for an elective upper house would not be granted. The result of this somewhat drastic measure was a terrific agitation throughout the parishes of Lower Canada. "The time has come," exclaimed Wolfred Nelson, one of Papineau's lieutenants, "to melt our spoons into bullets." So dangerous did the language of the *patriote* leaders become that writs were issued for their arrest; and this precipitated in 1837, almost simultaneously with the rebellion in Upper Canada, an armed outbreak.

Both in Upper and in Lower Canada the rebellion proved a fiasco. At the beginning of the operations in Lower Canada, the *patriotes* at St. Denis repulsed a British column under Colonel Gore, a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars; but they were soon dispersed by a column approaching from the opposite direction. A stiff fight took place at St. Eustache, north of Montreal; but there too the rebels were dispersed. Unfortunately, the British troops did a good deal of burning and harrying, which was not demanded by military considerations, and which was to have important political results later. The disturbances were confined, however, to two localities, the district of the Richelieu valley and the district north of Montreal; Quebec and Three Rivers were quiet.

In Upper Canada, there was for a time danger that, on account of the negligence of the government to make preparations for defence, Mackenzie and a few hundred farmers whom he had gathered about him, might take Toronto; but the loyalist population rallied quickly to the support of the Governor, and at Montgomery's farm, north of Toronto, easily dispersed Mackenzie's little army. Both Mackenzie and Papineau escaped to the United States, where, aided by American filibusters who perhaps hoped to emulate

The
Russell
Resolutions

Rebellion
in Both
Provinces

The Pro-
gramme of
Papineau

the exploits of Sam Houston in Mexico, they created for some time disturbances along the border; but none of these movements proved at all dangerous. The burning of the American steamer *Caroline* by the British caused strained relations for a time; but matters were finally smoothed over.

But rash and criminal though the rebellion of 1837 was, it opened the eyes of the British government to the seriousness of the situation in Canada, and aroused it to action. In the spring of 1838 the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended for three years; and the Earl of Durham was appointed Governor-General of British North America and Lord High Commissioner to report on the affairs of the Canadas, and to devise remedies. A better appointment could hardly have been made; for Durham, though a great Whig nobleman, with a vivid sense of the value of pomp and display, was nevertheless liberal, if not radical, in his leanings, and so was sure to be kindly disposed toward the Canadian Reformers.

When he came he found the jails crowded with prisoners, whom it seemed useless to try. He issued an ordinance forbidding the return, under penalty of death, of seventeen who had fled the country. Eight others he banished to Bermuda, after they had pleaded guilty. The others were liberated. His ordinance was disallowed by the British government; and Lord Durham resigned, and sailed for England.

THE WINNING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Lord Durham spent in Canada but five short months; and as soon as he left the country there was a renewed outbreak of rebellion in Lower Canada, less formidable, it is true, than the first, but still testifying to a general spirit of

unrest among the French-Canadians. A large part of Durham's work, moreover, was upset by the British government, on account of legal irregularities. But short and apparently unsuccessful as Durham's régime was, it was the means of ushering in a new day in Canadian politics. Durham's keen eye had penetrated to the root of the trouble in both Upper and Lower Canada; and the report which he made to the British government, perhaps the most famous state-paper ever issued by the Colonial Office, prescribed in clear language the only true remedy for the ills of the province. Its chief recommendations were two. In the first place, it advocated the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada, so that the English of Upper and Lower Canada might join hands and dominate the French-Canadians. In the second place, it advocated the granting of responsible government in all matters that did not conflict with "strictly Imperial interests." So far as domestic affairs were

concerned, he advised that Canada should be allowed to make its own mistakes in its own way.

The recommendation of the union of Upper and Lower Canada was carried through by the Act of Union of 1841.

This Act set up in the united provinces an executive government composed of a Governor and an Executive Council, appointed by the Crown, and a Legislature composed of a Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown, and a Legislative Assembly elected by the people.

It will be observed that the demand for an elective upper house was not granted. On the face of things, the machinery of government in United Canada was not different from the machinery of government in Upper or Lower Canada before the Union. Of the adoption of responsible government there was no word in the



LORD DURHAM

First Earl of Durham, he was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1838, where his brief rule was denounced as high-handed, but his famous Report became the basis for the constitution of the new Canadian Union.

The Act
of Union
of 1841

Lord
Durham's
Report

Act; but that was merely because the English type of responsible or cabinet government is a convention of the constitution, and cannot well be reduced to the cold language of the law-books. Moreover, the British government was not prepared to go the full length of Lord Durham's recommendation in regard to responsible government. Lord

Lord Sydenham's Instructions

Sydenham, the first Governor under the union, was instructed to call to his counsels "those persons who, by their position and character, have obtained the general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the province;" and he was to make it known that certain heads of departments would be called upon "to retire from the public service as often as any sufficient motives of public policy might suggest the expediency of that measure."

There was to be, it was clear, no reversion to the old permanent Executive Council, in perpetual opposition to the Legislative Assembly. At the same time, Sydenham made it known that he did not intend to accept the advice of his ministers unless it seemed well to him to do so. He was responsible, he pointed out, not to them or to the Assembly, but to the Colonial Office; and he refused to devolve his authority on any one else. The position which Sydenham took up was, therefore, a sort of half-way house between the old system and the system of complete responsible government in operation in Canada to-day. And as such, it must be confessed, it was admirably suited to bridging over the transition from the old to the new.

The partial system of responsible government instituted by Sydenham continued in operation for several years.

Progress Under Sir Charles Bagot

Under Sydenham's successor, Sir Charles Bagot, some progress was made: the French-Canadians, against whom Sydenham had discriminated, were admitted to the Executive Council, or the cabinet, as it came now to be called; and Bagot's frequent illness and enforced absence from the council meetings, threw into the hands of the cabinet a power which it otherwise would not have gained. But Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, the next Governor, proved less yielding. When his

ministers, Robert Baldwin, and Louis La Fontaine, demanded that he should exercise his powers of patronage only in accordance with their advice, he refused to acquiesce in their demand; and when they resigned, he governed for nine months with only one secretary of state. As soon as he was able to form a cabinet, he appealed to the country; and largely because of the esteem in which he himself was held, and also perhaps of the fear people had of embarking on a course which might imperil the imperial tie, he was sustained in the elections, and his ministers were returned with a working majority.

Full responsible government did not come in Canada until after the year 1846. That was a very important year in the history of the British Empire.

Lord Elgin in Canada

It was the year of the adoption in England of free trade in corn, and of the triumph of the principle of *laissez-faire* or governmental non-intervention. That principle, applied to colonial affairs, opened the way for the full adoption of Lord Durham's views. To carry those views at last into effect, the Earl of Elgin, Lord Durham's son-in-law, was sent out to Canada as Governor in 1847.

When Lord Elgin reached Canada, he found in power the Conservative administration which had been formed by Lord Metcalfe. Lord Elgin immediately gave these ministers his complete support and confidence; he accepted their advice in the same unreserved way as that in which the Crown of England accepted the advice of its chief ministers. But he made it quite clear that if the Opposition leaders came into power, he would follow the same course in his relations with them. At the end of 1847, parliament was dissolved, and in the elections the Conservative administration in power was defeated. Lord Elgin immediately sent for Robert Baldwin and Louis LaFontaine, the Liberal leaders, and invited them to form a government. The invitation was immediately accepted, and the second Baldwin-Fontaine administration, an administration destined to occupy an honoured place in Canadian history, came into existence.

The inclusion of Louis LaFontaine and some of his French-Canadian friends in

the cabinet was significant, especially as LaFontaine had been one of Papineau's most ardent lieutenants. So far as the French-Canadians were concerned, Lord Elgin expressly repudiated the views expressed by Lord Durham, who had aimed at repressing the French-Canadian racial instincts. "I for one," wrote Elgin, "am deeply convinced of the impolicy of all such attempts to denationalise the French . . . You may perhaps *Americanise*, but, depend upon it, by methods of this description, you will never *Anglicise* the French inhabitants of the province. Let them feel, on the other hand, that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices, if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French-Canadian?" On these words alone Elgin's reputation for statesmanship might well be allowed to rest.

Things went smoothly under the Baldwin-LaFontaine administration until in 1849 a government bill was introduced "to provide for the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada whose property was destroyed during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838." This "Rebellion Losses Bill," as the measure is known to history, caused a furore among the English population. It was said openly that LaFontaine was going to reward his fellow-countrymen for rebelling against the Queen. Petitions were immediately presented to the Governor-General asking him to withhold his sanction from the bill, or to dissolve parliament. This gave Lord Elgin a chance to carry his theories of Colonial government into practice. He was himself not convinced of the wisdom of the measure, and had he been a member of the Assembly he might have voted against it. But he realised that, if responsible government was to become an established fact in Canada, he must accept implicitly the advice of his ministers. Accordingly, he gave his assent to the bill.

The result was one of the most disgraceful riots in Canadian history. As

Lord Elgin drove away from the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, where the Houses were then in sitting, he was pelted with rotten eggs; that evening the Parliament Buildings were attacked by the mob, and burned to the ground; the next day the house of LaFontaine was sacked; for several days Lord Elgin and his family had virtually to stand siege



JOSEPH HOWE

The son of a United Empire Loyalist, was born in Halifax in 1804. Through his influence responsible government was secured for Nova Scotia without bloodshed, and he made confederation possible.

in Government House; and when Lord Elgin came down a week later to receive an address of loyalty and gratitude from the Assembly, he was greeted with a second attack, in which every panel of his carriage was driven in with stones, and he himself barely escaped with his life. He took his revenge in a characteristic fashion; he refused to allow his carriage to be repaired, and whenever after that he went down to open or prorogue parliament, he always drove in the old carriage, gaping as it was with cracks and seams.

At the same time, however, he pursued a policy of seclusion, and refused to appear in public. He was, of course, accused of cowardice; but his real reason was that he was determined that no blood should be shed through him. The storm blew over; and then it was seen that

Lord Elgin's firmness and moderation had won the day for responsible government in Canada. Ever since that time the Governor-General of Canada has occupied the impartial position in the constitution which the King occupies in the constitution of the United Kingdom, ready to work cordially with either political party.

While Lord Elgin was introducing responsible government into Canada, it was being introduced also into those provinces by the sea — Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island — which were destined ultimately to be united with Canada. These provinces had all obtained representative Assemblies before Upper and Lower Canada had received them, Nova Scotia as early as 1754, Prince Edward Island in 1773, and New Brunswick on its erection as a separate province in 1784. But here, as in Canada, difficulties had arisen from the attempt to combine representative and irresponsible government. The situation

was an almost exact parallel to that which existed at the same time in Upper Canada, which has been described.

In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe, an eloquent and great-hearted tribune of the people, waged the battle that Mackenzie and Papineau fought in Upper and Lower Canada, and waged it with a good deal more sanity and moderation. But disloyalty found no lodgment among the Reformers of the maritime provinces; and when Mackenzie and Papineau broke out in rebellion in Canada, Howe hastened to dissociate himself from them. For a number of years, the Governors of the maritime provinces, like Sydenham and Metcalfe in Canada, declined to grant the full measure of responsible government. But in 1847, the year in which Elgin came out to Canada, Sir John Harvey came out to Nova Scotia, and through him, as through Elgin, full responsible government was achieved. Shortly afterwards, the same result was brought about in New Brunswick after considerable discussion and in Prince Edward Island.

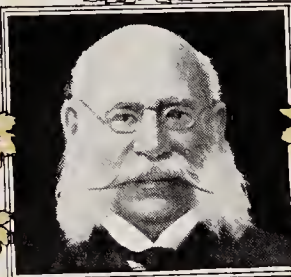


THE CABOT MEMORIAL ON SIGNAL HILL, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

THE MAKERS OF MODERN CANADA



Sir Thomas
Shaughnessy, 1853



Sir Richard Cartwright
1835



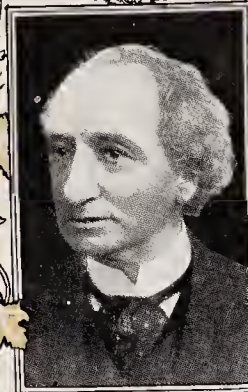
Sir Charles Tupper,
1821



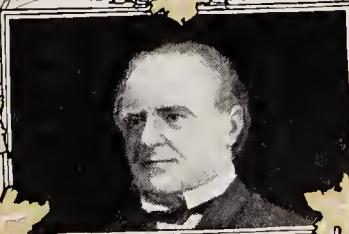
Sir Wilfrid Laurier,
1841



Lord
Strathcona,
1820



Sir John A.
Macdonald
1815-1891



Hon. Joseph Howe,
1804-1873



Hon. George Brown,
1818-1880

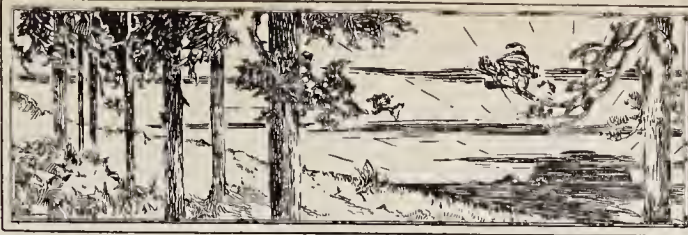


Lord Mountstephen,
1829



Sir George Cartier,
1814-1873

AMERICA



CANADA
V

UNION AND CONFEDERATION

THE STORY OF THE BIRTH OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

AT the time of the passing of the Act of Union, the population of Upper Canada was smaller than that of Lower Canada. In recommending the legislative union of the two provinces, Lord Durham had expressly warned the British government against any at-

Equal Representation of Provinces

tempt to favour the English province "by means of new and strange modes of voting or unfair divisions of the country." Yet in the Act of Union this warning was unfortunately disregarded, and Canada West and Canada East, as Upper and Lower Canada came respectively to be known, were each given a representation of forty-two members in the Assembly.

The result of this equal representation of the two parts of the province was to create in the government a principle of dualism which served merely to accentuate, instead of to obliterate, the racial division. It gave rise to an arrangement known as "the double-majority principle," whereby it became necessary, or at any rate customary, to obtain a majority of votes, not merely of the whole House, but of the members from Canada West and Canada East respectively. The principle of dualism was reflected

The "Double-Majority Principle"

also in the names of the administrations, which were invariably referred to by the names of their twin heads (for example, the Baldwin-LaFontaine administration, the Macdonald-Cartier administration, the Brown-Dorion administration); it was seen in the civil service, where the appointment of an English-Canadian to a post necessitated often the appointment to a parallel post of a French-Canadian; and it was seen even in the realm of public finance, where it was found necessary if

money were voted for some special object in Canada East, to vote a similar sum for expenditure in Canada West.

The instability of government under these conditions became patent as soon as responsible government came into full operation. Only two years after the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill, the Baldwin-LaFontaine government was broken up, largely through differences which arose between the French and English wings. The rocks on which it split were the questions of the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves and of the abolition of seigniorial tenure. The latter issue had become important, owing to the fact that in a commercial age seigniorial tenure, with its vexatious fines and rents, had become an anachronism. Many of the supporters of Baldwin and LaFontaine had pledged themselves to these two reforms; but LaFontaine, who led the French wing of the party, and like most of his compatriots, was at heart conservative, refused to support them, and the cabinet dissolved.

The Hincks - Morin administration, which succeeded to power, did some good work in the material development of the country; but it too failed to

Seigniorial Tenure deal satisfactorily with either the Clergy Reserves or the seigniorial tenure. It was only

when John A. Macdonald, the rising young member for Kingston, succeeded, with that adroitness in managing men which distinguished him throughout his career, in engineering in 1854 a union of the moderate elements in both provinces, that the two questions were effectively disposed of.

This union of parties gave some stability to the executive government for a time. Macdonald rallied to his support

the moderate Liberals and moderate Conservatives of Canada West; he enlisted the support of the remnant of the old "Family Compact" party by making their leader, Sir Allan McNab, the nominal head of the administration for a year or two; and he obtained, first through A. N. Morin, and then through Georges E. Cartier, who curiously enough had shouldered a musket in the *patriote* ranks at St. Denis, the adherence of the so-called French-Canadian Lib-

The Liberal Conservative Party

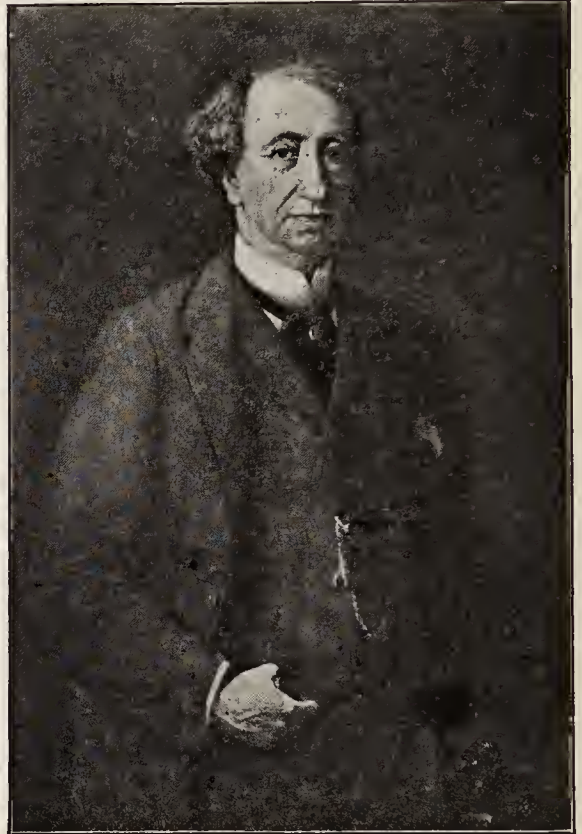
erals, comprising the great majority of voters in Canada East. To this heterogeneous party he applied the rather contradictory name of Liberal-Conservative; and this is still the official appellation of one of the two great political parties in Canada. The only parties who were not inveigled into Macdonald's dragnet were the Radicals of Canada West, who rejoiced in the name of Clear Grits, "because they were all sand and no dirt," and the Radicals of Canada East, who went by the name of *le parti rouge*.

Before long, however, a question arose which disrupted even the powerful combination of parties which Macdonald had effected. This was the question of the introduction of representation by population, or, as it was familiarly called, "Rep. by Pop." The equal representation of both parts of the province in the Assembly had been, in 1841, in favour of Canada West; but by 1851, the population of Canada West had grown, chiefly as a result of immigration, until it was considerably larger than that of Canada East. Yet it still had the same parliamentary representation as the French part of the province. Under these circumstances, an agitation arose in Canada West for the repeal of the clause in the Act of Union which provided for the equal representation of the two parts of the province, and the adoption instead of the principle of representation by population.

The agitation was headed by George Brown, the editor of the *Toronto Globe*, who raised the cry of French-Canadian

and Roman Catholic domination in Canada, and who advocated representation by population as the remedy. The cry of "Rep. by Pop."

became very popular in Canada West, where George Brown soon gained the ascendancy; and it became correspondingly unpopular in Canada East, where Sir Etienne Tâché, a prominent French-Canadian politician, declared that the surplus population of Canada West had "no more right to representation than so many codfish in Gaspé Bay."



SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD

Was born in Scotland in 1815, but spent nearly all his life in Canada. No other man has ever exercised so much influence upon Canadian affairs.

The situation thus created made the double-majority principle unworkable. George Brown, who was generally supported by a majority of the members from the upper part of the province, had by his course made it impossible for any considerable section of the French-Canadian people to work in harmony with him; while John A. Macdonald, though he had obtained through Cartier a complete ascendancy over the great body of the French-Canadians, was not able to get a steady majority in his own part of the province. Even when the double-majority was discarded, parties were so evenly divided

Instability
of
Administration

that government became well-nigh impossible. Between 1858 and 1861, no less than four distinct ministries were defeated, and two general elections were held, yet with no definite result. On the one occasion when George Brown attained office, he held the reins of power for only four days.

It was as a remedy for this state of deadlock that the project of the federation of the British North America provinces was proposed. "Deadlock," as Goldwin Smith put it, "was the parent of 'Confederation.'" The

Confederation
is
Suggested

idea of federation was not a new one. It had been a favourite idea with the United Empire Loyalists; Lord Durham had dallied with the idea, until he found that sectional interests and lack of communication placed it outside the realm of practical politics in his day; and in 1858 A. T. Galt, the leader of the English minority in Canada East, had entered the Macdonald-Cartier cabinet on the understanding that federation should be made a plank in its platform. But it was not until 1864 that the idea was seriously taken up. In that year, George Brown, seeing the *impasse* into which public affairs in Canada had come, proposed it as a cure for the ills of the body politic: his hope was that, in the larger arena created by the federation of all British North America, the problems of government in Canada proper would be submerged and lost to view and government would again become possible.

John A. Macdonald at first voted against the scheme; but when he became convinced of its practicability, he fell in

The
Coalition
Cabinet

with it, and joined George Brown in forming a coalition cabinet, with the object of bringing federation about.

Brown and Macdonald were bitter personal enemies. Macdonald, who was sometimes intemperate, had been repeatedly attacked by Brown on account of this failing; and he had assured the world with stinging sarcasm that he knew they would rather hear "John A. drunk than George Brown sober." Now, however, they agreed to sink their private differences. "We acted together," wrote Macdonald later, "dined at public places together, played euchre in crossing the

Atlantic, and went into society in England together. And yet on the day after he resigned, we resumed our old positions, and ceased to speak."

Hardly had the coalition cabinet been formed when word came that, by a curious coincidence, a congress of delegates

had been called for the autumn of 1864 at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to discuss the union or federation

of the maritime provinces — Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Some of the Canadian ministers thereupon went down to Charlottetown, and invited the delegates to come to a meeting in Quebec in October, 1864, to discuss the larger plan of the federation of all the British provinces in North America. The invitation was accepted; and on October 10, 1864, there met at Quebec the congress which has gone down in history as the Quebec Conference.

Representatives were present from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Of the deliberations of the Conference, which were held behind closed doors, comparatively little is known. Apparently the French-Canadians, who realised that in the proposed federation they would occupy a less important position than in United Canada, made many difficulties; but they were brought into line by Georges-Etienne Cartier. The result of the deliberations was seventy-two resolutions, embodying the terms on which the delegates thought federation might be brought about. These resolutions were carried back by the delegates, and submitted to the various legislatures.

The legislatures of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island refused to ratify them; the legislature of Nova

Scotia ratified them against the obvious will of the people; and there was considerable opposition to them

in Canada. Nowhere were the resolutions referred by plebiscite to the people for their approval. Indeed, Confederation was in no sense the result of a popular movement, but was the work throughout of far-sighted and public-spirited statesmen. Eventually, the seventy-two resolutions were approved by the legis-



THE DOMINION HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT AT OTTAWA



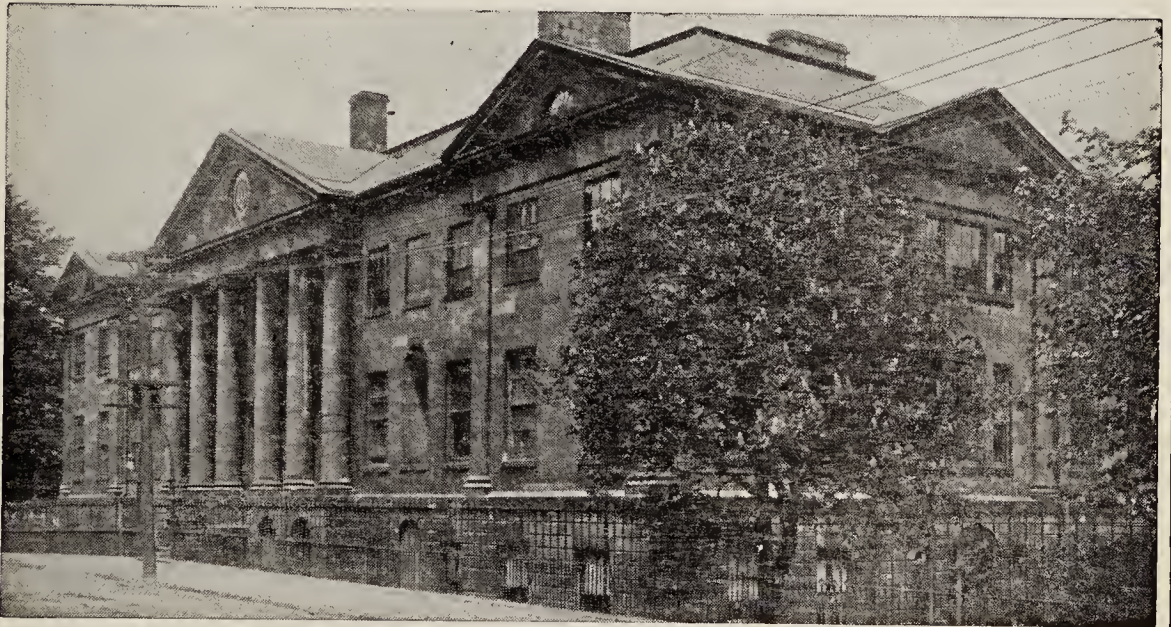
BRITISH COLUMBIA'S HOUSE OF LEGISLATURE AT VICTORIA



ONTARIO'S SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT TORONTO
THE DOMINION PARLIAMENT AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS



QUEBEC, CANADA'S QUAIN AND PICTURESQUE CITY



HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA'S IMPORTANT SEAPORT



THE OLD LEGISLATIVE BUILDING AT WINNIPEG
CANADIAN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS

Photos: Valentine

latures of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. These provinces sent delegates to England to confer with the Imperial authorities. There the British North America Act, which was based on the Quebec resolutions, was drawn up, and passed by the Imperial parliament. And on July 1, 1867, the new Dominion of Canada came into existence.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

The British North America Act has been the constitution of Canada from 1867 up to the present time. It bears a superficial resemblance to the constitution of the United States, for it was based on the principle of federalism, of which the constitution of the United States was the first conspicuous example. It set up in Canada two sets of governmental machinery, one central and national, the other local and provincial.

The central government, which was given oversight of all distinctively national affairs, was composed of a Governor-General appointed by the British government, an Executive Council, an upper legislative chamber known as the Senate, and a lower legislative chamber known, after its prototype at Westminster, as the House of Commons. The Provincial governments, which had jurisdiction over all local affairs, were composed in each case of a Lieutenant-governor, appointed, not by the British government, but by the central or Dominion government, an Executive Council, and a legislature containing in some cases two chambers, and in others only one.

But if the British North America Act bore a resemblance on the surface to the constitution of the United States, its spirit was essentially British.

Without expressly imposing responsible government on Canada, it contemplated the introduction of British cabinet or responsible government in both the central and the provincial spheres—an arrangement which is foreign to the operation of the constitution of the United States. The ministers by whose advice the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-governors were bound, were men who sat in the legislature, who had the confidence of the

legislature, and who were compelled to resign forthwith as soon as they lost their confidence.

A feature of the Act was a provision for the inclusion of other provinces, in case they should desire to come into the union. Advantage was ultimately taken of this provision by all the British provinces in North America, except Newfoundland, which still holds aloof, in proud isolation, as the oldest British colony in the New World. In 1869 the Dominion government acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company, for the comparatively small sum of £300,000, the vast western territories hitherto controlled by the company. Out of these territories, the province of Manitoba was carved in 1870, and the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. In 1871 British Columbia, a Crown colony on the Pacific coast, came into the union; and in 1873 Prince Edward Island repented of its decision in 1865, and came in too. This brought under one government the whole of the northern half of the mainland of North America, with the exception of a strip of Labrador which comes under the government of Newfoundland, and Alaska, which belongs to the United States.

The city of Ottawa had been chosen by Queen Victoria as the capital of United Canada, chiefly on account of its remoteness from the border; it became the capital of the new Dominion. Here in the summer of 1867, met the first all-Canadian government. Its leader was Sir John A. Macdonald, who had presided over the birth of the Confederation; and the cabinet comprised a variety of political elements. George Brown refused to enter the new government; but several of his colleagues accepted portfolios, and later Joseph Howe was persuaded by the influence of Macdonald to come in. Macdonald's aim was to form a non-party cabinet, in order to ensure the federation scheme a fair start. "Party," he said, "is merely a struggle for office; the madness of many for the gain of a few."

Macdonald did not, however, succeed in getting rid of opposition. In Nova Scotia, where Confederation was so un-

The British North America Act

Other Provinces Join the Confederation

The First Dominion Government

The Spirit of the Act

popular that only one of the members of the legislature that had voted for the Quebec resolutions was re-elected; an agitation sprang up for the repeal of the British North America Act, in so far as it applied to Nova Scotia; and Macdonald was compelled to grant the province better financial terms before it became reconciled to the new order of things. And in Ontario, as Canada West was now called, the provincial administration which had been set up by Macdonald was driven from power in 1871 by the followers of George Brown, under the leadership of Edward Blake, then a young lawyer of great promise.

The fall of the Macdonald government came about in 1873. The cause of it was popularly known as the "Pacific scandal." One

of the conditions of British Columbia's entrance into the Dominion was that a transcontinental railway should be built, linking British Columbia with eastern Canada. The charter for building the railway was given into the hands of a group of capitalists, from one of whom, Sir Hugh Allan, Macdonald accepted in 1872 large sums for the Liberal-Conservative campaign funds. Documentary evidence of this got into the hands of the opposition; and Macdonald was compelled to resign, owing to the defection of a number of his supporters headed by Donald A. Smith, afterwards Lord Strathcona.

Macdonald was succeeded in power by the Liberal leader, Alexander Mackenzie, an honest and economical Scotsman who had begun his career as a stone-

mason. Mackenzie formed a strong cabinet, conspicuous in which was Edward Blake, who, as Minister of Justice, put the coping-stone on the work of responsible government by forcing the Governor-General to surrender into the hands of the cabinet the last of his prerogatives, the right of pardon. Most people thought that Sir John A. Mac-

Alexander Mackenzie's Cabinet

donald, under the shadow of the "Pacific scandal," would be condemned to a long period of opposition. But Mackenzie did not succeed in capturing the imagination of the country; and in 1878 Macdonald came back to power with a sweeping majority. The platform on which he carried the country was what he called the "National Policy." This was a euphemistic phrase for a high protective tariff against all

comers. Macdonald had not originally been a protectionist; but he realised that the free trade leanings of the Mackenzie government were unpopular in the country, and with his usual opportunism he allowed the wave of protectionist feeling to carry him back to office. "Protection has done so much for me," he told Goldwin Smith, "that I feel I must do something for Protection."

After his return to power in 1878, Macdonald continued the head of the government until his death in 1891. During these years he made for himself a place in the affections of the Canadian people such as no other Canadian politician has ever achieved; and when he died even the railway-engines were swathed in crape. He was not, perhaps,



THE FIRST SEAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

The centre of the shield, five inches in diameter, represents Queen Victoria seated under a Gothic canopy, holding the sceptre and orb, and wearing the robe and collar of the Garter. Underneath are the arms of Great Britain, and on the sides are shields bearing the coats-of-arms of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the provinces which first united.

The Policy of Protection is Adopted

the highest type of statesman. He had some grave defects of character; his ideas of political morality were not high, and he was a frank opportunist. Yet perhaps he was the sort of man that Canada needed at the helm at that time. His adroitness, for instance, in keeping the Roman Catholics of Quebec and the

Orangemen of Ontario running in double harness, would not have been possible in a statesman of another type. And no one now denies the truth of the boast which Macdonald made at the time of the "Pacific Scandal:" "I

can see past the decision of the House either for or against me; but whether it be for or against me I know . . . that there does not exist in the country a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, and more of his intellect and

power, such as they may be, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."

The hand of the master having been removed, the Liberal-Conservative government gradually went to pieces. A succession of premiers followed Sir John Macdonald; first Sir John Thompson, then Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and last Sir Charles Tupper, who had been chiefly instrumental many years before in bringing New Brunswick into Confederation. But in the elections of 1896 the Tupper government was defeated. The chief cause of

its defeat was the Manitoba school question, a matter affecting the relations between the Dominion and the provinces. The provinces had been for some time very jealous of the encroachment of the Dominion government on their rights; and Sir Oliver Mowat, the Liberal prime minister of Ontario, had obtained great popularity on account of his successful championship of the "Provincial Rights" cause. The Manitoba school dispute arose out of the suppression by the Manitoba government of the Roman Catholic separate schools in the province. The Liberal-Conservative administration at Ottawa, which relied upon the Roman Catholic vote in the province of Quebec, attempted to compel the Manitoba government to restore the separate school system in the province. The leader of the opposition, Wilfrid Laurier, though a French-Canadian and Roman Catholic, cham-



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

For many years a conspicuous figure in Canadian politics, Sir John Macdonald, then a practising barrister, was elected to the Canadian Parliament in 1844, becoming in 1847 a Cabinet Minister, and in 1857, Premier. Upon the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, he was appointed the first Prime Minister of the Dominion. Above is the statue erected to him outside the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

pioned the right of Manitoba to deal with the question in its own way; and in the elections of 1896 his party was returned to power.

Laurier, though he had acquired his political apprenticeship in the ranks of the radical and anti-clerical *parti rouge* of Confederation days, obtained over the conservative and clerical province of Quebec an ascendancy no less complete than that which had been enjoyed by

Macdonald's colleague, Cartier. For fifteen years he governed Canada without a rival near the throne. His period of office was marked by great economic progress, partly owing to the vigorous immigration policy conducted by the Department of the Interior. The fall of his administration, which took place in 1911, was as sudden and dramatic as that of Mackenzie's government had been in 1878. The primary cause of his defeat was the Reciprocity agreement which he attempted to negotiate with the United States in 1911.

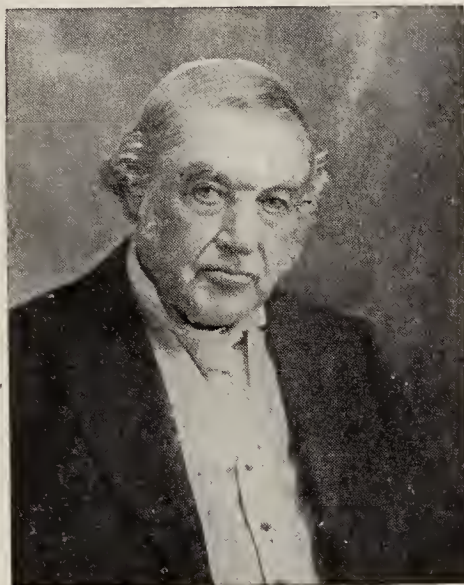
Reciprocity in trade between Canada and the United States had often been proposed; and between 1856 and 1866 a reciprocity treaty had actually been in force with regard to raw materials and natural substances. But the treaty had been denounced by the United States; and since that time the United States had rejected all proposals for its renewal. In the meantime, Canada had built up, by means of her railways, a vigorous interprovincial trade; and many Canadians felt that to wipe out the tariff barriers between Canada and the United States would be to destroy a large part of the work effected by Confederation and the "National Policy."

The task of forming a new administration was entrusted to the Honourable (now Sir) Robert Borden; and the affairs of Canada have been administered since then by his government. During this period, the storm centre of Canadian

Defence of the Empire

politics has been about the question of Canada's relation to the Empire, and especially of her participation in the task of imperial defence. Even though Canada had no representation in the Councils of the Empire, except through imperial conferences called at comparatively rare intervals, a large body of opinion had come to the conclusion that Canada was not con-

tributing her share to the defence of the Empire. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had begun the construction of a Canadian navy, under Canadian control; but he found in Quebec and in the prairie provinces so much opposition to the idea of Canada's embarking in the European race for armaments, that the prosecution of his naval scheme was somewhat faint-hearted. His tiny fleet of two vessels was freely described by the Conservative press as "a tin-pot navy."



SIR CHARLES TUPPER

Canadian statesman, born in Nova Scotia in 1821, Sir Charles Tupper earned for himself considerable distinction as surgeon before adopting politics. He became in 1864 Premier of Nova Scotia and in 1896 of the Dominion.

als still held a majority, threw the bill out. This action, unfortunate though it was, should not be regarded as the result of an unwillingness to contribute to the defence of the Empire, but merely as due to a difference of opinion as to method.

The Canadian Navy Question

It was the outcome of the old struggle in Canada between the parties of Colonial Autonomy and Imperial Centralisation.

THE IMPERIAL TIE

Since the British conquest of Canada, the character of the British Empire has completely changed. From being an empire of the Spanish type, based on the theory that colonies exist for the benefit of the mother country, it has become what Sir Wilfrid Laurier has described as "a galaxy of free nations." The history of Canada's relations with Great Britain, therefore, has been the

The British Empire To-day



AN EARLY SETTLEMENT AMID THE HARDSHIPS OF THE BACKWOODS



THE LABORIOUS METHOD OF WORKING A CANOE UP A RAPID
SCENES IN CANADIAN PIONEER LIFE MANY YEARS AGO

UNION AND CONFEDERATION

story of the gradual growth of colonial autonomy. Nowhere has the development been more strikingly illustrated than in the realm of trade and tariffs.

In 1763 Canada came under the full operation of the old Navigation Laws. These laws, which dated back to the time of Cromwell and Charles II, gave Great Britain a complete monopoly of colonial buying and selling, placed restrictions on colonial shipping, and discouraged and even forbade colonial manufactures when they conflicted with the manufactures of the Mother Country. They were the chief feature of that Old Colonial System which contributed so largely to bring about the American Revolution; they made it impossible for Canada or Nova Scotia to trade direct with the United States, even though the United States was their natural market; and not withstanding

the Revolution, the import duties at Canadian ports were imposed by the British government.

It was not until after 1791 that this system began to break down. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Canadian

legislatures were given the power of levying customs duties at the ports; and by Jay's Treaty in 1794 Canada was given the right

**Trade
and
Tariffs**

of trading with the United States by road, river, lake or canal, but not by sea. The British merchant ships were still to have a virtual monopoly of Canadian ocean trade. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, further concessions were made. In 1809 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were given

full rights of trading even by sea with the United States, which was their natural market: in 1822 American ships were allowed to trade directly with Canada proper; and in 1826 the ships of other nations were permitted to trade with Canada.

There still remained, it is true, some restrictions on foreign shipping: all inter-imperial trade was reserved for the shipping of the British Empire, and a preference

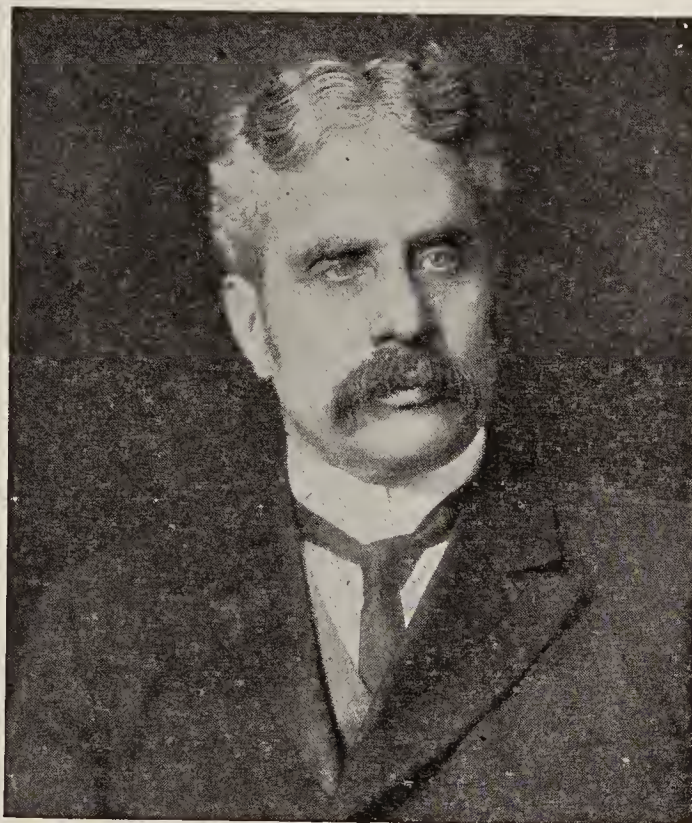
was given in Canada to British markets over foreign. At the same time Canada was given in the British market bounties on her staple products, wheat and timber. The Navigation Laws were not entirely repealed; they were rather transformed into a sort of imperial Zollverein system.

The logical conclusion of this system was reached when the Corn Laws were passed in Great Britain.

By the Corn Law of 1843 a heavy preference, amounting to four shillings a quarter, was given to Canadian wheat in the British market. All flour ground in Canadian mills was to be regarded as Canadian, even though the wheat had been imported from the United States. As a result, extensive preparations for milling were begun, especially at Montreal; and the Canadian farmers and

**The Repeal
of the British
Corn Laws**

millers began already to regard their futures as made. Then, like a bolt from the blue, there came in 1846 the introduction of free trade in corn in England by the government of Sir Robert Peel. The repeal of the Corn Laws automatically swept away



SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN
Premier of the Dominion since 1911.

the preference on Canadian flour and wheat; and produced widespread disaster in Canada. In 1849, the British government began to repeal the last vestiges of the Navigation Laws, and this spelled ruin for the privileged timber trade in Canada. Great indignation was felt in Canada against this sudden and inconsiderate change of policy on the part of the British government; and one of the results of this feeling was the famous Annexation Manifesto of 1849. But in 1856, Canada obtained, through the ten-year Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, a market which partly made up for the loss of the British market; and since that time Canadian trade has been free to go and come where it willed.

It was not long before Canada took full advantage of her new freedom. In 1859 the Finance Minister of Canada, Alexander T. Galt, brought in a budget which, for the first time, raised a tariff barrier against British trade. The British people, with whom Free Trade was at this time a fetish, were aghast at this action; and the Chambers of Commerce promptly petitioned the Colonial Secretary to disallow the new measure. The Colonial Secretary sent on the protests to the Governor-General of Canada, without comment.

Galt replied in terms which did not lack in vigour, whatever they may have lacked in urbanity. "Self-government," he wrote, "would be utterly annihilated, if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is therefore the duty of the present Government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry. Her Majesty cannot be advised to disavow such acts unless her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of the affairs of the colony irrespective of the views of its inhabitants." In the face of this strong language, the British protest collapsed; and not even when Sir John A. Macdonald introduced in 1879 the National Policy, which still further raised the tariff barrier against Great Britain, as well as against other countries,

did a further protest escape the lips of the British government.

But one of the results of the severance of the old imperial ties, and the erection of tariff walls in Canada against British trade, was the gradual growth in Great Britain of a body of opinion favourable to the political independence of the British colonies. The colonies had ceased to be of any direct benefit to Great Britain, and had become, in the opinion of some Englishmen, merely a source of friction and expense. "Those wretched colonies," wrote Disraeli in 1853, "will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." "We are, I suppose, all looking to the eventual parting company on good terms," wrote Lord Blatchford, the chief official of the Colonial Office later, to a correspondent in Canada.

When the American government suggested in 1870 the withdrawal of Great Britain from Canada, the British Minister, Sir Edward Thornton, replied: "It is impossible for Great Britain to inaugurate a separation. They are willing and even desirous to have one."

And it is stated on good authority that shortly before Lord Dufferin came out to Canada as Governor-General in 1872 Robert Lowe, a prominent member of the Gladstone government, came up to him in a London club, and said, "Now you ought to make it your business to get rid of the Dominion." It was such utterances as these that Lord Tennyson had in mind when he wrote those noble lines about

"That true North, whereof we lately heard
A strain to shame us, 'keep you to yourselves;

So loyal is too costly! friends—your love
Is but a burthen: loose the bond, and go.
Is this the tone of empire? here the faith
That made us rulers? this, indeed, her voice
And meaning, whom the roar of Hougoumont

Left mightiest of all peoples under Heaven?

The voice of Britain, or a sinking land,
Some third-rate isle half-lost amid her seas?"

The lesson which Tennyson taught was soon learned; and for many years now no

UNION AND CONFEDERATION

serious proposal has been made either in Great Britain or in Canada for the severance of the imperial tie. On the other hand, many attempts have been made within recent years to strengthen the bond. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary in the Balfour government, proposed the revival of an imperial Zollverein, or customs union within the Empire. He did not succeed

in carrying Great Britain with him; and an imperial customs union is still apparently a long way off. But in 1898 Sir Wilfrid Laurier granted to Great Britain a preference of 25 per cent. in the tariff on imports into Canada; in 1900 this was raised to a preference of 33 1-3 per cent.; and just before Sir Wilfrid Laurier's defeat in 1911, he proposed raising the preference to 50 per cent. This policy has done much to

bind Canada and Great Britain more closely together—probably just as much as the scheme advocated by Chamberlain would have done.

The visible ties which to-day bind Canada to Great Britain are very few. The constitution of Canada, the British North America Act, is an Act of the parliament of Great Britain; and to obtain any amendment of that constitution, Canada is obliged to repair to Westminster. It is highly improbable, however, that any amendment of the constitution on which the people of Canada had set their hearts would be rejected by the imperial parliament. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain is still the

final court of appeal for Canada; but its jurisdiction has recently been limited to constitutional cases.

The Governor-General of Canada, the head of the executive government, is still appointed by the British King in Council; but the Governor-General has become little more than the ceremonial representative of the British Crown. He has, it is true, the

**The Status
of the
Governor-General**



THE NINTH DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE
Governor-General of Canada since 1916.

right of reserving Dominion legislation for the ratification or disallowance of the British government. Not long after Confederation, for instance, the British government disallowed a bill of the Canadian legislature which reduced the salary of the Governor-General from \$50,000 to \$25,000 a year. The farmers of Canada at that time were unable to understand why any one man should need the sum of \$50,000 a year.

But cases of bills being disallowed, or even being reserved for the King's pleasure, have been very rare; and the power of disallowance may now be regarded as obsolescent. That it will never be employed again might be a risky prediction; but if it be employed, it will only be under the most exceptional circumstances.

Any difficulties between the British and Canadian governments are now settled mainly by negotiation, in which the Governor-General plays somewhat the part of an ambassador. All other links than these have disappeared. The postoffice system, which was once under imperial control, has now for many years been

**Relations
with Great
Britain**

**Canada
Practically
Independent**



A PRETTY VIEW NEAR SYDNEY, ON THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON



GENERAL VIEW FROM CAPE BLOMIDON, LOOKING ACROSS MINAS BASIN

SCENES IN THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA

Photos on this page and pages 6472, 6479 and 6481 by courtesy of the Canadian Emigration Office



MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, SHOWING THE UNITED STATES AND THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Although Columbus is generally given the distinction of discovering North America, it is practically certain that the Norsemen had landed on its shores nearly five centuries earlier. When John Cabot navigated the coast in the neighbourhood of Cape Breton, in 1497, the population of this vast continent, with an area, inclusive of outlying lands and islands, of 8,300,000 square miles, was counted by thousands, whereas to-day it is 125,000,000.

under Canadian control. The last British troops have been withdrawn from Canadian soil and Canada now has an army of her own. The officer in command of the Canadian troops is no longer even a British officer. And Canada is gradually acquiring, not only the right of being represented in the making of treaties, but also the right of making treaties on her own account, so long as

these do not conflict with the engagements of the British government. So far has the process gone that more than one Canadian publicist has argued that Canada is virtually independent, and should be called what indeed Sir John A. Macdonald once urged it should be called, "the Kingdom of Canada."

But any who hold such views have failed to read aright the lesson of Can-



CALGARY, TWENTY YEARS AGO

adian history. The weaker the tangible ties, the stronger have grown the intangible. Sir John A. Macdonald, who knew the temper of his country, voiced the feeling of many a Canadian when he said: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I oppose the veiled treason which attempts, by sordid means and mercenary proffers, to lure our people from their allegiance." The real strength of the imperial tie is to be found not in constitutional arrange-

ments, or even in commercial relations, but in the history of Canada's participation in the wars of the Empire. In 1885 a detachment of Canadian *voyageurs* went with the British troops up the Nile to the relief of Gordon at Khartoum. In the Boer war, the Canadian government sent three contingents of volunteer troops to fight on the South African veldt. And in the Great War which is being waged in Europe, as these lines are written, tens of thousands of the flower of Canada's manhood are fighting the Empire's battles on many bloody fields.



EDMONTON, AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AMERICA



CANADA
VI

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

WHEN the American Revolutionary War, which resulted in the birth of the United States, broke out, Canada had been for only a few years a British possession; and the British tenure of Canada was, therefore, at that time somewhat insecure. Not only were there many sympathisers with the Revolution among the English-American element in Canada, but it was reasonable to suppose that the French-Canadians would welcome an opportunity to throw off the yoke so recently imposed. Moreover, Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor of Canada, had very few troops for the defence of the colony. Very early, therefore, in the course of operations, the revolutionary leaders decided to invade Canada, and try to win it over to the revolutionary cause.

In the autumn of 1774, the First Continental Congress issued "A Letter to the Province of Quebec," in which they paid the highest compliment to the "gallant and glorious resistance" which the French-Canadians had made to the British, solicited their assistance in the struggle on which the Congress was then embarking, and attempted to belittle the concessions which the British had made to the French-Canadians in the Quebec Act. "What is offered you by the late Act of Parliament? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you." This "Letter," it is true, was more diplomatic than ingenuous; for only five days before it was issued the Congress had published "An Address to the People of Great Britain," in which they had referred to the religion of the French-Canadians, which had been virtually es-

tablished by the Quebec Act, as "a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world." The French-Canadians paid no attention to the letter of Congress.

Military operations against Canada began in the summer of 1775 with the surprise and capture of Ticonderoga, and Crown Point on Lake Champlain by Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain boys." Carleton had urged that these posts should be held by adequate forces, but his advice had been disregarded; and they capitulated immediately to the demand that they should surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The main attack on Canada was assigned shortly after this to two small armies, one under Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery, a former British officer, whose brother had fought at Quebec under Wolfe, and the other under Colonel Benedict Arnold, whose treason to the American cause was later to make his name a by-word. Arnold's force was to strike up the Kennebec River through the wilds of Maine to Quebec; Montgomery's army was to advance on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, and then join forces with Arnold before Quebec.

The American campaign went at first as smoothly as clock-work. Fort Chambly, on the Richelieu, was captured by the Americans; and owing to the failure of the British officer in command to destroy his guns and ammunition, the Americans obtained the artillery which they lacked for the reduction of St. Johns. Once these places were taken the way was open to Montreal. Carleton would have been glad to defend Mon-

Would
the French
Remain Loyal?

Attacks
on
Canada

Congress
Invites Canada
to Resist

Montgomery
Captures
Montreal

treachery; but he had no British troops there, the English element in the town were thoroughly disaffected, and the great body of the French-Canadians were stolidly neutral. On November 13, therefore, the Americans occupied Montreal without fighting; and Carleton made his way down the river to Quebec, escaping capture only by a hair's breadth.

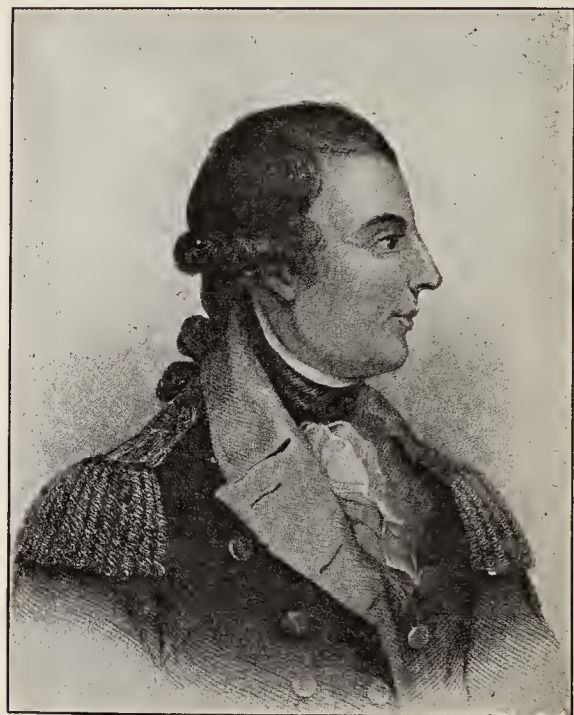
On his arrival at Quebec, he found Arnold and his men already opposite the citadel, on the Levis shore: they had ascended the Kennebec, crossed the height of land, and descended the Chaudière—a march through impassable country hardly paralleled in military history. Scarcely had Carleton purged Quebec of disaffected elements, and organised his slender garrison for defence, when Montgomery joined Arnold before the walls, and the siege began.

Then the troubles of the Americans commenced. They were too weak in artillery to effect a breach in the walls, and they were compelled to have recourse to a night assault. On New Year's eve,

1775, the attack was made. Under cover of a pretended attack against the walls carried out by a few hundred Canadians who had enlisted in the invading army, Montgomery led part of his force against the barricades at the western end of the lower town, and Arnold led the rest against the barricades at the eastern end. At the very beginning of the operations, however, Montgomery was killed, and after forcing one barricade, Arnold was wounded, and many of his men taken prisoners. General Wooster, who succeeded to the command, withdrew his men: and the rest of the winter was passed in a wearisome blockade.

Carleton, who had learned the lesson of the battles of the Plains of Abraham and Ste. Foy, sat tight within the walls; and when spring came, and reinforcements for the British arrived, the Americans were forced to beat a hasty retreat. Montreal and St. Johns were evacuated; the American fleet on Lake Champlain was destroyed; and at the end of 1776 only Ticonderoga remained in American hands. So ended the enterprise against Canada, but it had at least prevented an invasion of the United States for that year.

During the remainder of the war the Canadian border was the base from which a considerable part of the British military operations was carried on. It was from Lake Champlain that Burgoyne set out in 1777 on the calamitous campaign which ended in the disaster of Saratoga; and it was from Oswego that St. Leger set out against Fort Stanwix.



GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

Was of Irish birth. After service in the British army he emigrated to New York, and at the beginning of the Revolution led the force which captured Montreal. He was killed in the assault on Quebec, which failed in consequence of his death.

From Canada, too, Sir John Johnson and other leaders of Loyalist levies conducted numerous raids down into the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys. Owing to the incapacity of Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of War, who more than any other man was responsible for the failure of British arms in the war, these raids were not made part of a properly concerted scheme of action, but sank into the category of isolated forays. But they did much damage, not always in a very humane manner. In the Schoharie valley alone, in 1780, Sir John Johnson destroyed 80,000 bushels of grain; and this achievement, as Washington wrote to Congress, "threatened alarming consequences."

RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

In the Illinois district, which had been part of New France, and which had been assigned to the government of Canada

The North-West Territory is Taken

by the Quebec Act, there was not a little fighting. Here it was that George Rogers Clark conducted the heroic campaigns which brought him within striking distance of Detroit, and which won for the American people that vast hinterland which it had long been their aim to acquire. The "Old North-West," as the district is sometimes called, was the natural ground of expansion for the American colonies; and its inclusion in the territory which came under the Quebec Act, with its arbitrary type of government and its virtual establishment of Roman Catholicism, had profoundly angered the Americans. Now they occupied it by force of arms.

Apart from these operations, however, the American revolutionists made no attempt during the later days of the Revolution to invade Canada again. The reason for this was undoubtedly fear and jealousy of their French allies. They were willing to accept the financial and military aid of France in their struggle for independence; but they did not wish to see France once more installed to the north of them on the American continent.

The war came to an end with the Peace of Versailles in 1783. Among other things, the treaty attempted to draw the boundary line between Canada and the

Foundation for Boundary Disputes

revolted states. The starting-point of the boundary was placed at "the north-west angle of Nova Scotia," which was arrived at by drawing a line due north from the source of the St. Croix River to the highlands; the boundary then ran along these highlands, which divided the rivers that emptied themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which fell into the Atlantic, to the head of the Connecticut River; it followed that river until it reached the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; it ran along this to the Iroquois or Cataraqui River; and thence it followed the chain of Great Lakes, until it reached the Lake of the Woods. From the Lake of the Woods a line was to have been drawn due west to the Mississippi; but unfortunately such a line did not then,

and does not now, and never will, touch the Mississippi. Such was the state of geographical knowledge regarding the North American continent at that time that this attempt to define the boundary between Canada and what was soon to be the United States gave rise to endless disputes, of which more will be said anon.

The other articles of the treaty which



JOSEPH BRANT (THAYENDANEGEA)

Was a Mohawk Chief who aided the British during the Revolutionary War. He was well-educated, and a man of great ability. The town of Brantford, in Ontario, is named in his honour.

affected Canada were those relating to the treatment of the Loyalists. Perhaps

American Treatment of the Loyalists

one-third of the people of the American colonies had opposed the Revolution; many of these had taken arms on the British side; and it was incumbent on the British government, in making peace, to take care of the interests of these faithful sons and daughters of the Empire. The British peace commissioners did their best to obtain good terms for the Loyalists. They obtained assurances that British subjects would "meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted;" that no future confiscations should be made; and that no person was to suffer any future loss or damage for any part he may have

taken in the war. The American commissioners promised also that Congress would "earnestly recommend" to the state legislatures the restitution of confiscated estates. But all of these articles were more honoured in the breach than in the observance; and thousands of the Loyalists were driven from their homes, penniless and destitute. The treatment of the Loyalists by the American revolutionists is not the brightest page in American history.

The expulsion of the Loyalists had important results both for Canada and the United States. For the United States it was an event comparable only to the expulsion of the Huguenots from France: it robbed the states of a valuable conservative element, the presence of which might have saved the young republic from some of its early errors in diplomacy, politics, and finance. For Canada it meant the ushering in of a new era. The British government offered the Loyalists homes in Nova Scotia and Canada, and a large immigration took place. Not only did Nova Scotia receive a large English-speaking population, but the provinces of Upper Canada and New Brunswick were virtually created by the Loyalists.

This new element in the country was passionately loyal to the British Empire and antagonistic to the United States; and they greatly strengthened the permanence of the imperial tie. Before 1783 the continuance of Canada in the Empire was problematical; after 1783 it was assured. The influx of the Loyalists into Canada brought with it also the necessity for representative institutions; and so Canada was started on that road of political development which has brought her to her present position as a self-governing unit in the British Empire.

Another result of the failure of the American States to fulfill their treaty obligations toward the Loyalists, was that

Great Britain retained until 1796 the "western posts." These were Michillimackinac, at the junction of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, Detroit, Niagara, Fort Erie, Oswego, and Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg). This action

on the part of Great Britain served to keep alive a feeling of bitterness in the United States. Great Britain was accused of stirring up the Indians of the "Old Northwest," who had grown very restive on account of the American immigration into their hunting-grounds; and it was only the wisdom and influence of Washington that prevented the renewal of war between the United States and Great Britain. The defeat of the Indians by General Anthony Wayne in 1794, and the consequent handing over of the "western posts" to the United States by Great Britain in 1796 removed, however, for a time, the causes of friction between the two countries.

THE WAR OF 1812

The only great war-like collision that has ever occurred between Canada and the United States took place in 1812.

This war had its roots in questions connected with the Napoleonic struggle. In 1806

Napoleon had published his Berlin Decree, which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce and correspondence with them. In 1807, Great Britain, as a counterblast, issued her Orders-in-Council, which forbade neutrals to trade with any port which was not open to British vessels. At the same time, the British navy repeatedly searched neutral vessels, and impressed British subjects found on board them, even though they were naturalised citizens of the United States. England held to the theory of inalienable allegiance.

Both these actions greatly incensed the American people, as infringements of the rights of neutrals. Thomas Jefferson, the President of the United States, attempted to solve the difficulty by forcing through Congress an Embargo Act, under which American ships were detained at home; but the Embargo proved impossible of enforcement, in the face of the active hostility of a large section of the American people. British diplomacy did not improve matters; the conduct of Great Britain was high-handed and galling to a proud and sensitive people; and the continued impressment of British sailors on American ships, though per-

RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

haps necessary, was certain to lead to trouble. It is true that opinion in New England was opposed to war with Great Britain, and that a powerful minority in most of the states was in favour of peace. In the summer of 1812, however, the war party gained the upper hand; and war was declared.

Although Canada had had no connection with the cause of the war, an invasion of that country offered the most obvious avenue of waging war on Great Britain. There were in Canada at that time only about four thousand five hundred regular troops; and the population of the colony was still very small. Had the American people been united in prosecuting the war, the result would have been beyond peradventure. But, fortunately for the Canadians, opposition to the war paralysed the action of the United States. Party dissensions made themselves felt, not only among the common soldiers, but even in the councils of war. Massachusetts refused to send her militia to the front; and many of the men from other states refused, when the time came, to cross into Canada, and deserted the ranks, as, for instance, at the time of the battle of Queenston Heights.

The first invasion of Canada took place at the western end of the upper province. Early in July, General Hull, with an army of about two thousand men, marched north to Detroit, and from there crossed over to Sandwich, on the Canadian side. Hull issued a

The Invasion of Upper Canada

somewhat magniloquent proclamation, in which he posed as the rescuer of Upper Canada from British tyranny. In this attitude he was without doubt perfectly sincere. After the first wave of Loyalist immigration into Upper Canada, a great many Americans had settled in the province, attracted by nothing but the offer of free lands; and the disaffection existing among these doubtless induced Hull to believe that the whole province was anxious to be liberated. Moreover, the strong prejudice which existed at that time in the United States against monarchical institutions prevented the Americans from regarding themselves in any other light than as deliverers; they

were like the French republicans, who "forced men to be free."

The administrator of Upper Canada at this time, and the commander of the forces, was General Isaac Brock, a young British officer of the best type. Brock's military genius grasped the fact that only by a bold offensive movement could the British forces make good their inferiority in numbers. Obtaining the assistance of the Indians un-

General Brock Takes Detroit



SIR ISAAC BROCK

Was the most successful of the British generals during the War of 1812. For the capture of General Hull, at Detroit, he was knighted, but was killed at Queenston, to the sorrow of all Canadians.

der their great chief Tecumseh, Brock marched to the western end of the province, forced Hull to retire on Detroit, and then, with an audacity almost foolhardy, crossed over to the attack of Detroit itself. Brock had at his disposal only about 700 troops and 600 Indians; Hull held a strong post with a garrison of 2,500 men and 25 pieces of ordnance. Yet almost before the attack developed, Hull surrendered; and Detroit was occupied "without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood."

Immediately after the capture of Detroit an armistice was arranged between Canada and the United States by the Canadian Governor, Sir George Prevost, in the hope that in the meantime peace

might be arranged. But the armistice came to an end in September; and shortly afterwards, the Americans, who had been pushing stores and troops up to the border, made an attack on the Niagara frontier. An attempt to land on the Canadian side of the Niagara River at the little village of Queenston, some eight miles above the mouth of the river, was repulsed by Brock's troops; but a foothold was obtained on the heights above the town by a detachment under Captain Wool, afterwards a distinguished American general, who had found a hidden path up the bank of the gorge.

In attempting to dislodge this force, Brock was killed; and for a time the situation looked black for the Canadians.

Brock Falls at Queenston Heights But at this juncture, the American forces on the eastern side of the river, discouraged perhaps by the

repulse of the first landing party, refused to leave American soil; and General Sheaffe, Brock's second-in-command, was able, when arriving with reinforcements, to drive Wool's detachment into the river. The American army, thereupon, retired to Buffalo. Another attempt to force a crossing was made a little later, higher up the river; but it was no more successful than the first. The year ended with Canadian soil intact; though Canada had suffered a severe loss in the death of Isaac Brock, a general whose presence was worth many battalions.

The American campaign of 1813 contemplated a three-fold attack on Canada. Operations were to be conducted against the Detroit frontier, against the Niagara frontier, and against Montreal. In the westernmost sphere, opposite Detroit, the year opened auspiciously for the British.

Colonel Procter Fails to Advance In January an American division, advancing upon

Sandwich, was attacked by Colonel Procter at Frenchtown, and compelled to surrender. But after that initial success, Procter's star waned. An attempt to storm Fort Meigs on the Maumee River, where the American General Harrison was entrenched, was repulsed; and Procter was compelled to fall back on Amherstburg, in Upper Canada. Here he attempted to stand his ground; but his position was

greatly weakened by the naval supremacy on Lake Erie obtained in the summer of 1813 by the American Commodore, Isaac Chauncey.

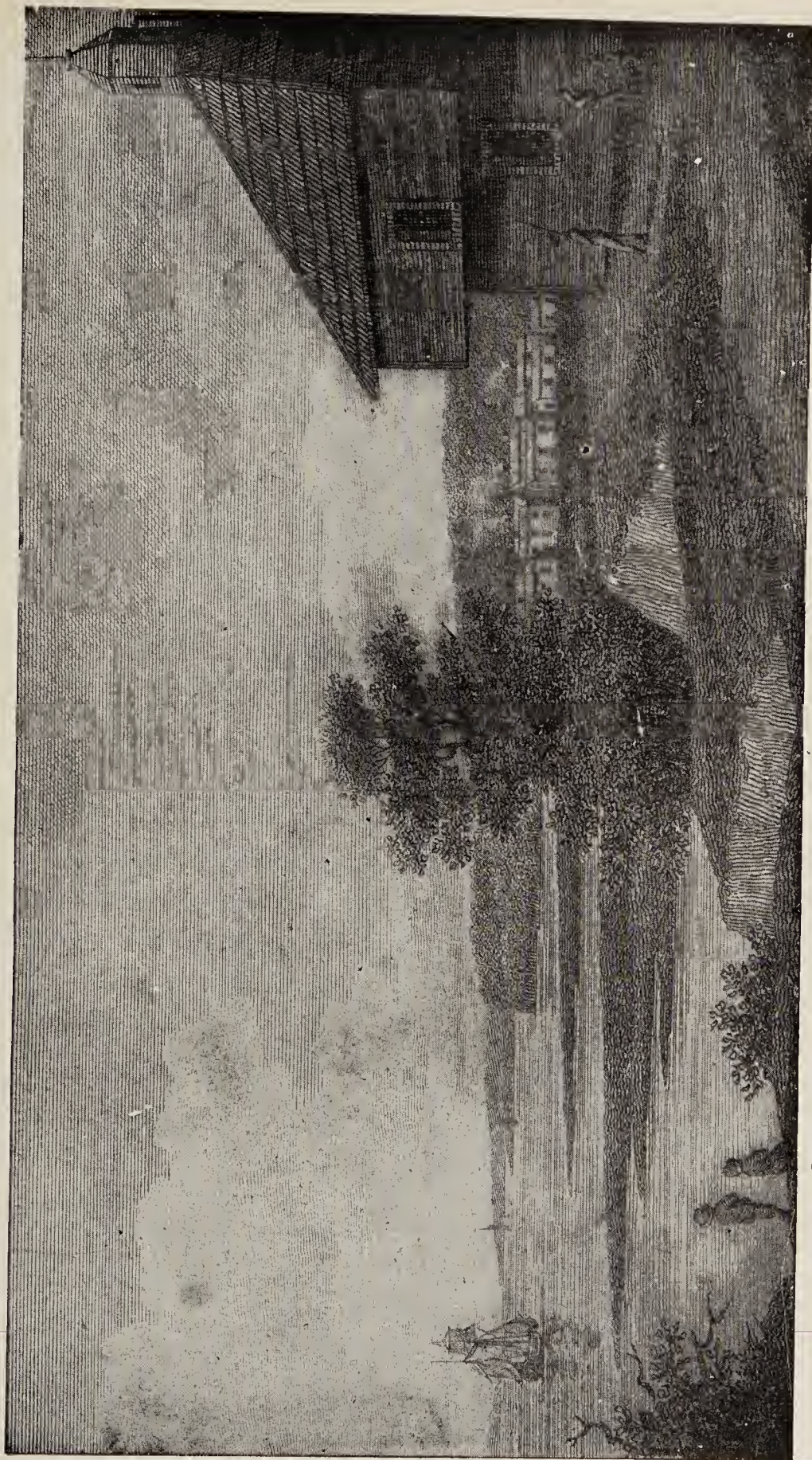
Chauncey, with great foresight and energy, had caused a fleet to be built on Lake Erie which, under Lieutenant Perry, on September 9 completely annihilated the British flotilla. This battle of Lake Erie compelled Procter's retreat from Amherstburg. He fell back on Sandwich, and then retreated up the valley of the Thames. The retreat was badly managed; and the Americans, following on Procter's heels, came up with him at Moraviantown, routed his force, and took most of it prisoners. Among the dead on the battlefield was the great Shawnee chief Tecumseh, the most brilliant soldier whom the Indian tribes ever produced. Procter, who escaped "by the fleetness of his horse," was afterwards court-martialed for his conduct of the operations, and was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded.

On the Niagara frontier, the Americans at first carried all before them. The massing of 7,000 troops along the Niagara River compelled the

Operations on the Niagara Frontier British to evacuate the Niagara peninsula, and

to fall back to the head of Lake Ontario. The Americans obtained on Lake Ontario also the same naval ascendancy as they were acquiring on Lake Erie; and in April they were able to send an expedition against York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, which resulted in the reduction of the town. But in the latter part of the year the British succeeded in reviving their fallen fortunes. On June 5 Colonel Harvey, who was afterwards to become the official parent of responsible government in the maritime provinces, made a brilliant and successful attack on the Americans at Stoney Creek, near the western end of Lake Ontario; and by the end of the year the British had not only recovered all the ground they had lost, but had invaded American territory.

Unfortunately, in retiring, the Americans burned the unfortified town of Newark (now Niagara-on-the-lake); and this act caused afterwards terrible reprisals, notably the destruction of Black Rock and Buffalo, and the burning of



YORK, NOW TORONTO, AS IT WAS EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

the public buildings in Washington by the British fleet. At the same time, Commodore Yeo, an able naval officer who had taken over the command of the British fleet on the lakes, had been able to hold in check the naval activity of the Americans, even though he was not able to drive them from the lakes.

The most important and critical of the American operations were those directed against Montreal. The real objective of

Expeditions
Against
Montreal

these operations was Kingston, where the Canadian ship-yards were situated; but it was thought that this place could be more easily reduced by attacking Montreal and cutting off communication between the two places. The attack was to be conducted by two converging expeditions. One, under General Wilkinson, was to advance from Sackett's Harbour on Lake Ontario; the other, under General Wade Hampton, was to advance from Lake Champlain. The two armies were to meet at the mouth of the River Châteauguay, and then descend on Montreal by Lachine.

Wilkinson's force began the descent of the St. Lawrence on November 5. Its advance was harassed by British gunboats and small detachments of troops; and on November 11 its rearguard was defeated by a small column under Colonel Morrison at Chrystler's Farm. Meanwhile, General Hampton had suffered a more serious check. His force had entered Canada on September 20, and had advanced to the Châteauguay River. Here, near the junction of the Châteauguay and the Outard Rivers, he encountered a small body of some three hundred French-Canadian *voltigeurs* under Colonel de Salaberry, who was reinforced on October 25 by six hundred men under Colonel Macdonell. Hampton had a force of three thousand men; but with such dash and heroism did De Salaberry's men fight that the Americans were thrown back, and compelled to beat a retreat. The battle of Châteauguay, which was perhaps the most brilliant exploit of the war, brought about the abandonment for the year of the expedition against Montreal; but it had an importance even beyond that. The fact that French-Canadians and English-Canadians had laid down their lives side by

side on that stricken field of battle served to weld together, as nothing else could have done, the two races by which Canada is inhabited.

In the spring of 1814, the Americans once more returned to the attack. On the Niagara frontier, a new American General, Jacob Brown, had at first some success. He expelled the Canadians from American soil, and crossing the river, defeated the British at Chippewa and seized Fort Erie. But when he advanced on Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River, he was met by the British at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara Falls; and after a stubborn and bloody engagement, he was checked. Commodore Chauncey failed to co-operate with him, as he had expected; and the arrival in Montreal of considerable British reinforcements, fresh from the Peninsular campaigns, induced him to fall back.

By the end of the year, Fort Erie had been once more evacuated by the Americans, and Upper Canada was again free of the invader. In Lower Canada, Prevost felt himself able in 1814 to assume the offensive. He advanced on Plattsburg, on the western side of Lake Champlain, and forced the Americans to retire before him. But the expedition ended in a fiasco. Prevost, who realised that a naval superiority on Lake Champlain was a *sine quâ non* of success on land, made no attempt to attack the weak American forces opposed to him. He hurried the incipient British flotilla into action before it was ready, stood idly by while it was being defeated, and then made an inglorious retirement.

It is unnecessary here to dwell in detail on the events of the war in other quarters. In the summer of 1814 the British fleet sailed into Chesapeake Bay, landed an army which defeated the Americans under the eyes of President Madison, occupied Washington, and burned its

Other
Events of
the War

public buildings in reprisal for the destruction of Newark; and in January, 1815, an army of Peninsular veterans, which was landed under General Pakenham, was badly defeated at New Orleans by militia under General Andrew Jackson. Before this last engagement took place

RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

peace between Great Britain and the United States had already been signed at Ghent. Both sides had become tired of the war; and both sides recognised that the game had been drawn. The Orders-in-Council had long since been withdrawn, and with the close of the Napoleonic struggle the question of impressment and the right of search had ceased to be of importance. Peace was therefore concluded by the Treaty of Ghent, on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. The causes of the war were not even mentioned.

Neither the British nor the Americans have looked back on the War of 1812 with much pride. The British, who regarded themselves as a race of sailors, had failed to obtain that naval superiority on the Great Lakes which was an essential to success in war along the Canadian frontier; and the Americans had failed to take advantage of their superior numbers on land to effect any real invasion of Canada. Their leaders had proven,

Canadians Alone Proud of the War in many cases, unable to lead; and lukewarmness had been evident among the rank and file of the army, as well as among the general public. Only in Canada were the results of the war regarded with satisfaction. The Canadians, despite a serious inferiority in numbers, had shown on many stricken fields of battle — at Queenston Heights, at Chrystler's Farm, at Châteauguay, and at Lundy's Lane — their ability to defend their own country. The war marked the birth in Canada of a real national patriotism; it bound together as nothing else could have done the scattered and diverse elements in the country; and it gave Canadians memories which are still invoked to-day.

Since 1815 Canada and the United States have been at peace. In 1838 American filibusters in conjunction with Canadian rebels created a number of disturbances along the border; and in 1865 some Irish-American Fenians invaded the Niagara peninsula. The attitude of the American state authorities on these occasions was not perhaps quite correct; but the Federal government of the United States had no part in the troubles, so far, at any rate, as the evidence yet available goes to show.

THE BOUNDARY AND FISHERIES DISPUTES

Though Canada and the United States have been at peace for over one hundred years, there have not been absent sources of friction during that time. Notable among these have been the disputes which have arisen from the attempt of the negotiators of the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 to define the boundary between the two countries. The state of geographical knowledge at that time, and the inadequacy of the available maps, was such that any attempt to describe a complicated international boundary line was almost certain to result in trouble. The eastern end of the boundary, for instance, was drawn by the negotiators along the St. Croix River, which had been the western limit of the old province of Acadia or Nova Scotia. The difficulty was that there were no less than three rivers flowing into Passamaquoddy Bay, each one of which claimed to be the St. Croix of history.

Under Jay's Treaty of 1794 the question was left to a joint British and American commission to decide; and in 1798 the members of the commission arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the river meant was that which is now known as the Schoodic. The Schoodic, however, had two branches, the western known also as the Schoodic, and the eastern known as the Chiputneticook. At first, the majority of the commissioners favoured the western branch, but there was doubt as to what constituted its source; under these circumstances, a compromise was arrived at, and the Chiputneticook was chosen. That this line actually represented the boundary line between the old provinces of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, is the opinion of modern scholars who have made a thorough study of the subject.

But the difficulty of interpreting the language of the Treaty of Versailles did not end there. From the source of the St. Croix, the line ran due north to the highlands dividing the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence and those flowing into the Atlantic, and then along the highlands to the north-westernmost

Boundary Disputes Arise

Interpreting the Treaty of 1783

head of the Connecticut River. As a matter of fact, however, the only highlands reached by a line drawn due north from the St. Croix were those marking off the watershed of the Bay of Chaleur. The great objection to such a line, from the standpoint of Great Britain, was that it meant the projection of a great wedge of American territory between Quebec and Nova Scotia. Indeed, it meant that the only practicable road from Quebec to Nova Scotia during the winter months would pass through foreign territory.

In 1814, by the Treaty of Ghent, the question was referred to a joint commission to settle. The British and American commissioners, however, disagreed hopelessly as to the identity of the highlands mentioned in the treaty. The British commissioner identified them with Mars Hill, only forty miles north of the source of the St. Croix; and the American commissioner placed them over one hundred miles further north. As time wore on, however, a settlement of the question became increasingly urgent. In 1820 Maine was erected into a separate state, and she began to put forward with vigour claims to the land in dispute.

The inhabitants of the Madawaska settlement were included in the American official census; and the arrest of an inhabitant of the Madawaska region by the New Brunswick authorities in 1827 at one moment threatened war between the two countries. In 1831, an attempt was made to settle the dispute by the reference of it to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands. The King of the Netherlands ruled that no line literally fulfilled the conditions of the treaty; and he suggested instead an equitable boundary, following for part of the way the St. John and St. Francis Rivers. The British government was willing to accept this award; but the United States would have none of it, holding that the King of the Netherlands had exceeded his instructions.

The matter dragged along until in 1841 Daniel Webster, who was then the American Secretary of State, proposed the settlement of the dispute by direct negotiation. The British government thereupon appointed Lord Ash-

burton to conduct the negotiations; and in 1842 the Ashburton Treaty at last concluded the matter by placing the boundary where it is now. The result was a compromise, and therefore unpopular on both sides. From that day to this Lord Ashburton has been held up in Canada as having betrayed Canadian interests. On the other hand, Daniel Webster was attacked by American writers, and the treaty was described as "a British victory." It was unfortunate that the Madawaska settlement should have been virtually cut in half by the award, and that such a wedge should have been driven into the surrounding British territory. But the opinion of the best modern scholarship is that Lord Ashburton got for Canada all that could have been expected under the circumstances.

Erroneous ideas as to geography on the part of the negotiators of the treaty of 1793 caused yet another difficulty.

**Still Another
Boundary
Dispute**

According to the treaty, the boundary was to run from Lake Superior to "the Long Lake," thence by the line of water communication to the Lake of the Woods, and from the north-westernmost point of the Lake of the Woods due west to the River Mississippi. As a matter of fact, there is no one lake known as Long Lake between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods; instead there is a succession of small lakes. And a line drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods does not touch the Mississippi, for that river rises further to the south. Fortunately this mistake was soon discovered; and after some abortive negotiations, it was at last agreed in 1818 that a line drawn from the north-westernmost point of the Lake of the Woods along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the Rocky Mountains, should be the western boundary between the two countries; or if the point mentioned should not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, a line should be drawn from it due north or south, as the case might be. The point proved to be north of the forty-ninth parallel; and as a result the United States obtained here a tiny wedge of territory, a part of Minnesota, projecting into Canada.

The arrangement of 1818 left unsettled the question of the boundary from the

RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast.

The Oregon Country in Dispute The conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United States proved here to be particularly difficult of reconciliation. The ground in dispute was the whole of what is known as the Oregon territory—that is, the province of British Columbia, and the States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. The American claim to the territory was based partly on Spanish rights, to which the Americans had succeeded, partly on the purchase of Louisiana, and partly on the contention of prior discovery and occupation. In 1792 an American captain had entered and explored the mouth of the Columbia River; in 1804 Lewis and Clark had made their memorable overland expedition to the mouth of the Columbia; and in 1811 J. J. Astor had established at the mouth of the Columbia a trading-post, named Astoria, the subject of one of Washington Irving's most notable books.

The British were able to meet these claims with claims as good or better. Captain Cook had explored the whole of the Pacific coast of North America in 1778; Alexander Mackenzie had in 1792 descended the Fraser for part of its course, and had then struck overland to the coast; David Thompson had during the years 1806-1811 traded all through the Columbia country; and Astoria had during the war of 1812 capitulated to the Canadian North-West Company. In 1818 the United States proposed, as a compromise, that the line of the forty-ninth parallel should be continued to the coast; but that would have deprived Great Britain of the lower Columbia valley, to which she laid claim, and the offer was therefore rejected.

In default of a settlement, an agreement was arrived at for the joint occupation of the Oregon country by Great Britain and the United States for a period of ten years. In 1827 a convention was concluded whereby the joint occupation was definitely extended, subject to its termination by twelve months' notice on either side. This was, of course, merely a device for shifting the problem on to the shoulders of a future generation; and during the ensuing

period the country was practically governed by the Hudson's Bay Company.

What brought the matter to a head was the influx into the Oregon country of a considerable number of American settlers about 1843. By 1845 there were no less than 6,000 Americans in the country, mainly in the Willamette valley. Naturally these people enlisted on their behalf the sympathies of their compatriots in the East. The exclusive claim to the Oregon country was revived; and in 1844 the Democratic National Convention passed a resolution which was popularly interpreted to mean that the United States would insist in her claim to the Oregon country right up to $54^{\circ} 40'$, the southern boundary of the Russian possessions in Alaska. In the ensuing elections the battle-cry of the Democratic party was the alliterative "Fifty-four forty or fight." But in spite of this somewhat jingoistic cry, the United States was not really anxious to go to war; and in 1846 a basis of agreement was arrived at in the Oregon Treaty.

The boundary agreed upon was the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude as far as the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the channel and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific Ocean. By this treaty Great Britain abandoned her claim to the lower Columbia; and the United States modified its former proposal of the forty-ninth parallel so far as to bring the whole of Vancouver Island within British territory. The terms of the treaty contained within them a plentiful store of misunderstanding with regard to the exact line of the water boundary; and for many years the ownership of the Island of San Juan was in dispute. But, under the Washington Treaty of 1871, the question was referred to the arbitration of the German Emperor, and the island was by him awarded to the United States.

The last of the boundary disputes took place, a generation after the San Juan decision, with regard to the boundary between Alaska and British Columbia. In 1867 Alaska had been purchased by the United States from Russia. The boundary between the

Alaska and British Columbia

Russian and British possessions in North America had been decided in 1825, and Great Britain had been compelled to give Russia the coast line north of Prince of Wales Island to the depth of ten marine miles inland; but no difficulty was anticipated in regard to the interpretation of this arrangement. Nor would any difficulty have arisen had not the Klondike goldfields, in what is now the Yukon district of the North-West Territories, been discovered in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

The miners flocking into the Yukon passed through American territory; and naturally difficulties arose. After a course of futile negotiations, the delimitation of the boundary was in 1903 referred to a joint commission composed of six "impartial jurists of repute." The difficulty of finding absolutely impartial jurists was great, and the opinions of at least two of the three American commissioners were well known. The result of the arbitration was a great disappointment to Canada. By a majority of four to two, the Lord Chief Justice of England voting with the Americans, and the two Canadian representatives dissenting, the commission not only decided in favour of the main American claim, but it gave to the United States two small islands the only value of which to the United States was that they commanded the entrance to the future terminus of a trans-Canadian railway.

Strong language was used in Canada against the English Chief Justice; and the award was held up as only another of a long series of betrayals of Canadian interests by Great Britain in her diplomatic negotiations. From the standpoint of good feeling between Canada and the United States, it was unfortunate that the United States was not able to see her way to relinquish her claim to the two small islands in question; and it was particularly regrettable that the United States should have appointed, and Great Britain should have accepted, as "impartial jurists" men who had already expressed publicly strong opinions on the matter on which they were to adjudicate. But that Canadian interests have been systematically betrayed by Great Britain in the bound-

dary negotiations, must be emphatically denied. In nearly every case Great Britain has obtained for Canada terms as good as could have been expected under the circumstances, and in many cases she has obtained terms better than Canada could have obtained by direct negotiation.

Besides the boundary questions, the Canadian fisheries have been a cause of friction between the two countries.

The Question of the Fisheries Under the Treaty of Paris the people of the United States were given the right

of fishing in British waters and frequenting British coasts for the purpose of curing or drying their fish. Under the convention of 1818 these rights were strictly defined; but it proved a difficult matter to keep the Americans within the lines marked out. In 1852 the British government was compelled to dispatch a small naval force to compel the observance of the convention of 1818. An attempted solution, whereby the Americans were given leave to fish on payment of a license duty, proved a failure: the Americans were loth to pay the duty, and the numbers fishing without license kept increasing.

The system of licenses was therefore discontinued, and the dispatch of a small fleet of cruisers to protect the Canadian fisheries in 1870 led to much irritation. Advantage was consequently taken in 1871 of the agreement between Great Britain and the United States to refer all matters in dispute between them to the consideration of a joint High Commission, to attempt to come to some *modus vivendi*. The Treaty of Washington, which was the result of the deliberations of the Commission, gave the American fishermen not only the rights granted them under the convention of 1818, but rights to the inshore fisheries as well; but at the same time it was agreed that the United States should pay compensation for the privileges afforded, the amount to be determined by arbitration.

The arbitrators awarded to Great Britain the sum of five and a half million dollars; and at first the American government made difficulties about paying the sum awarded. But Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Secretary, took the simple ground of *res judicata*;

Arbitration Has Prevented War

RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

and the money was paid. Further difficulties have arisen from time to time; but in each case arbitration or negotiation has cut the Gordian knot. The extremists on both sides have been sometimes displeased; but the result of the way in which the United States and Great Britain, representing Canada, have done business together, has been a hundred years of peace.

THE ANNEXATION MOVEMENT IN CANADA

There have not been wanting prophets who have believed that the ultimate political destiny of Canada was incorporation in the United States. Nor has the open advocacy of the union of the two countries been unknown in Canada.

Annexation Sentiment in Canada

In 1775 there was among the English-speaking commercial element in the colony a strong group who sympathised with the American revolutionists, and who, when Canada was invaded, went over to the revolutionary cause bag and baggage. One of the most prominent among them was that Thomas Walker, who, a few years before, had lost an ear at the hands of the British soldiers in Montreal. In 1812 there was such disaffection among the American-born settlers in Upper Canada that Brock was compelled to dissolve the legislature and proclaim martial law. In the later stages of the war there was an entire unit in the American army on the Niagara frontier which was composed solely of "Canadian Volunteers;" and at least one member of the Upper Canada Assembly died fighting for the Stars and Stripes.

In 1837, again, the advocacy of the political union of Canada and the United States was heard. Both Papineau and Mackenzie came to advocate it; though Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia emphatically repudiated the idea. But the strong Loyalist element in the colony in all these cases promptly rallied to the support of the government; and the movement at no time became serious or important. In each case, moreover, the agitation was distinctly traceable to political or economic discontent: the Eng-

Reasons for Such Sentiment

lish commercial element in 1775 was angered and disgusted by the terms of the Quebec Act, which imposed on the colony not only arbitrary government but the French commercial laws; the American element in Upper Canada in 1812 was discontented with the invidious alien laws and laws with regard to naturalisation which had been directed against them; and the rebels of 1837 took up the idea of annexation because they thought all else had failed to obtain redress of grievances.

The most notable manifestation of the desire for annexation occurred in the year 1849. In 1846 Great Britain had adopted free trade in corn; and in 1849 she began the repeal of the Navigation Laws. These changes ruined the privileged Canadian flour and timber trades, and widespread disaster resulted in the colony. So bad did times become that official salaries had to be paid in debentures which sold below par; and in some districts money became almost a curiosity. The feeling in Canada against the abrupt and inconsiderate action of the mother country, as well as against the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1849, found vent the same year in an Annexation Manifesto signed by many of the most prominent citizens of Montreal, including some public officials.

Lord Elgin, who was Governor-General at the time, promptly, however, dismissed from office the public officials who had signed the manifesto; and Lord Elgin Checks the Agitation the document proved to be a mere flash in the pan. Sir John Abbot, himself a signatory of the manifesto, confessed afterwards that "there was not a man who signed that manifesto who had any more serious idea of seeking annexation with the United States than a petulant child who strikes his nurse has of deliberately murdering her." For a time the radical or "Clear Grit" wing of the Liberal party dallied with the idea of annexation; but they were saved from it by Robert Baldwin and Francis Hincks, and since that time the idea has found no place in the platforms of any of the great political parties.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the tendency towards annexation in Canada disguised itself for the

most part under the garb of commercial union. In 1854 Lord Elgin, anxious to provide Canada with a market in lieu of that which she had lost in England after the introduction of free trade, went down to Washington, and succeeded by adroit diplomacy in negotiating a reciprocity treaty in natural substances and raw materials between Canada and the United States. The treaty, said Elgin's witty secretary, was "floated through on champagne." Ten years later, however, the United States, angered by the attitude of England during the war between the North and the South, denounced the treaty; and the rising American school of protectionism raised a high tariff barrier against Canadian trade.

The idea of commercial union between the two countries died hard. In the hard times of the eighties, the idea was revived by Erastus Wiman, a Canadian who had lived for many years in the United States; and Goldwin Smith, the famous "Oxford Professor" of Disraeli, who had been for some time a resident of Canada, lent his support to the movement. The Liberal party, while opposing complete commercial union, took up the advocacy of unrestricted reciprocity in trade. But the majority of the

Canadian electorate had by this time imbibed the idea that commercial union, or even closer commercial relations, was but the preliminary to political union. Both Erastus Wiman and Goldwin Smith were known to be advocates of political union; and indeed Goldwin Smith's advocacy of political union with the United States completely destroyed the usefulness of a career which might have been of inestimable advantage to Canada. In the elections of 1891 the reciprocity program of the Liberals was snowed under; and the idea was not revived until twenty years later, when it suffered a still more ignominious defeat, carrying down with it Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government, which had endured so long.

The steadfast opposition of Canada to anything that savours of annexation to the United States does not proceed from any dislike of, or hostility to, the American people; though there is naturally sometimes in Canada something of that prejudice which is apt to exist between neighbours. The opposition proceeds from that passionate loyalty to the British Empire which has been an outstanding feature of Canadian life at every crisis of the national history since the United Empire Loyalists hewed their homes out of the Canadian forest.



KINGSTON, ON LAKE ONTARIO, ABOUT THE TIME OF THE REBELLION



THE CAMP OF A SPORTING PARTY IN NEW BRUNSWICK



LADY EVELYN LAKE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
TYPICAL VIEWS OF CANADA'S BEAUTIFUL WOODS AND LAKES
Photos: Canadian Pacific Railway



MORAINE LAKE, IN THE VALLEY OF THE TEN PEAKS, NEAR LAGGAN



WIND MOUNTAIN, IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES, NEAR BANFF, ALBERTA
PICTURESQUE LAKE AND MOUNTAIN SCENERY IN CANADA

Photos: Canadian Pacific Railway

AMERICA



CANADA
VII

THE GROWTH OF THE CANADIAN WEST

THE MARVELLOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT WEST

THE SELKIRK SETTLEMENT

THE development of the Canadian West has been a recent feature of Canadian history; but the first step in the process dates back to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Fur Companies Oppose Settlement

Until 1812 the country was given over wholly to the fur-traders. The Hudson's Bay Company, with its royal charter giving it exclusive rights over the vast watershed of Hudson Bay, regarded with great jealousy any invasion of those rights. After the conquest of Canada by the British, the fur-traders from Montreal, who in 1784 formed themselves into the North-West Company, proved serious rivals of the Hudson's Bay men; and many conflicts took place between them. Rival posts were established facing each other; rival exploring parties were sent out on a race for new territory; and on several occasions blood was shed. But both companies were hostile to any settlement of the country, as likely to be injurious to the fur-trade. It was only when the Earl of Selkirk, a Scottish nobleman whose chief interest lay, not in the fur-trade, but in emigration from the British Isles, obtained a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, that there was any departure from the traditional policy of the fur-trading companies.

The Earl of Selkirk was a wealthy philanthropist. He had seen with sorrow the eviction of the Highland Scottish crofters from their homes at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries; and he had made it his business to alleviate their sufferings. He had already established colonies of the evicted crofters on Prince Edward Island and at Bal-

The Selkirk Settlements

doon, in Upper Canada; but he had become attracted by the possibilities of the West. He first tried to interest the British government in the establishment of a colony in the West. "At the western extremity of Canada," he wrote to Lord Pelham in 1802, "upon the waters which fall into Lake Winnipeg . . . is a country which the Indian traders represent as fertile and of a climate far more temperate than the shores of the Atlantic under the same parallel."

The British government, however, declined to undertake his scheme; and he then turned to the Hudson's Bay Company as a means of effecting his object. He secured a controlling interest in the Company, and succeeded in obtaining from it the grant of several hundred thousand acres, on the condition that he should undertake the whole cost of his scheme in the way of transport, settlement, and government, and that he should buy out the rights of the Indians. The district which he obtained, and to which the name Assiniboia was given, included the valley of the Red River and of the Assiniboine.

The first party of colonists, about ninety in number, were sent out from Scotland in 1811. They arrived at York Factory on Hudson Bay in the autumn of that year, and reached the Red River, near the site of the present city of Winnipeg, in 1812.

The First Settlers in Manitoba

Very few colonists were sent out in 1812, but in 1813 another party, about one hundred strong, arrived at Churchill, and they reached the Red River in June of 1814. These colonists had their share of trials and discomforts, especially during the bitter north-western winters; but they enjoyed at first friendly relations with the Canadian and half-breed employees of the North-West Company in the Assiniboia

district, and this did much to alleviate the rigour of their first experiences.

The authorities of the North-West Company, however, did not look upon them with a favourable eye. The settlement struck at the root of their monopoly of the fur-trade in the Red River district; and they determined to get rid of it at the first opportunity. An

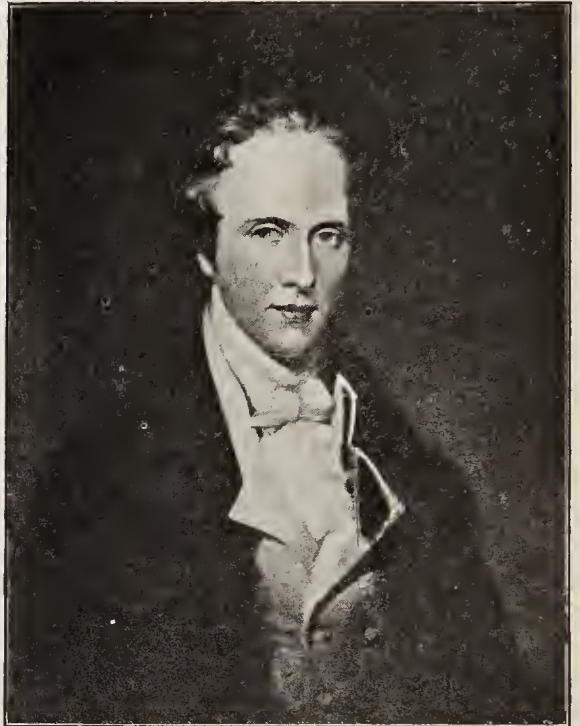
Trouble with the Fur Traders excuse for active opposition was given in January, 1814, by Miles MacDonell, the governor whom Selkirk had placed in charge of the colony. MacDonell issued a proclamation forbidding the export of any provisions from the district granted to Lord Selkirk, under pain of the forfeiture of such provisions. A compromise which was arrived at between the agents of the North-West Company and MacDonell, whereby the Company was to be allowed to export provisions on condition that the provisions would be supplied at a later date, was rejected by the Company's partners.

There seems to be no doubt that already the Company had formed a plan for the extinction of the colony by inveigling away as many of the settlers as possible, and then hounding the Indians on the rest. MacDonell played into the Company's hands by taking a strong line of action. He

The Seven Oaks Massacre sent an expedition to a post of the North-West Company, some one hundred and fifty miles southwest of the colony, and seized by force the provisions stored there. The Company decided on reprisals. In August, 1814, one of the agents of the Company wrote, "You see me and our mutual friend Cameron about to commence open warfare with the Red River enemy." Partly by intimidation and partly by force, the settlers were driven from their homes. On the way to Hudson Bay, however, they met an agent of Lord Selkirk, who persuaded them to return; and a considerable influx of colonists in the autumn somewhat strengthened the position of the colony. In 1816, however, matters came to a head. On June 19, the Nor'Westers made a deliberate and unprovoked attack on the colonists at Seven Oaks; and Governor Semple, who had succeeded MacDonell, and twenty-one others were massacred.

Meanwhile Lord Selkirk, who had heard of the first destruction of the colony, was hurrying up the Red River from Montreal. He had applied to the

Selkirk and His Difficulties Canadian government for assistance; but the influence of the North-West Company was paramount in the colony, and his request had been refused. He had thereupon engaged one hundred dis-



THOMAS DOUGLAS, EARL OF SELKIRK

A Scottish philanthropist whose attempts to found colonies in the North-West were unsuccessful, because of the hostility of the fur-traders. His failure and the difficulties he met hastened his death.

charged soldiers as settlers, and was taking them with him. At Sault Ste. Marie, he heard of the massacre of Seven Oaks. When he arrived at Fort William on Lake Superior, which was then the headquarters of the North-West Company, he took advantage of his powers as a magistrate to issue warrants for the arrest of several of the partners and agents of the Company, and to send them as prisoners to Upper Canada. In January, 1817, he reached for the first time the site of the Red River settlement. He re-established the colony at Kildonan, now a suburb of Winnipeg; and the settlement has enjoyed a continuous history from that day to this.

Lord Selkirk's difficulties, however, were not over. On his return to Upper

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Canada, the North-West Company had a warrant issued for his arrest. Selkirk resisted the execution of this warrant on the ground that the process was irregular and surreptitious. This brought down on him the wrath of the Governor of Canada, Sir John Sherbrooke, and the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst. At the same time one of the partners of the North-West Company brought an action against Selkirk in the courts, for false imprisonment; and true bills were brought in against forty or fifty persons known to have been implicated in the affair at Seven Oaks. Thus began a long series of trials and lawsuits, in which, it must be confessed, Selkirk got less than justice.

In the first place, he had put himself in the wrong by his resistance to lawful arrest, and unfortunately the appointment of Miles MacDonell as Governor of the Red River colony had never been approved by the King, as was required by statute, and MacDonell had never taken the proper oaths of office. In the second place, Selkirk, in entering the lists against the North-West Company, was joining battle with what was probably the strongest vested interest in Canada at that day. Several of its partners were members of the Executive Councils, and were related by marriage or otherwise to occupants of the judicial bench. Selkirk had to fight not only a rival trading company, but the government of Canada itself.

The Hudson's Bay Company, with which he was connected, was regarded at that time as almost a foreign corporation; the North-West Company was pre-eminently Canadian, and received, in its ruthless course, the support of Canadian juries and Canadian judges. The unequal struggle probably hastened Selkirk's death; but his name will always be remembered in Canadian history as the pioneer of Western development, as the first man who foresaw the future of the West, and did something to realise it. Thanks to him, the listener could hear in the Red River valley

"the tread of pioneers,
Of nations yet to be,
The first low wash of waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea."

THE REGIME OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

For many years after the foundation of the Selkirk colony, no settlement was established in the West which was not in some measure dependent on the fur-trade. The incorporation of the North-West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 made the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company complete. It was granted a license to trade, to the exclusion of all other British subjects, in the territory owned by Great Britain north and west of Canada and the United States; and it was given the power of enforcing the execution of criminal processes and of framing rules and regulations for the Indians. The British government reserved to itself the right of setting up in the territories in question any form of civil government which might seem advisable, independent of the Company; but in the meantime the Company ruled the country.

In many ways, the régime of the Hudson's Bay Company reflected great credit upon it; its treatment of the Indians and its handling of the Americans who came into the country were especially creditable. But it was not to be expected that it would look with a favourable eye on the establishment of settlements which would encroach upon its preserves. The Selkirk settlement, it is true, did not disappear; but after 1834, when the Hudson's Bay Company acquired by purchase the Selkirk interests in the Red River and Assiniboine valleys, it was not administered in such a way as to encourage further colonisation. By 1857, its population was little over 6,000; and of this number only a fraction were the descendants of the Selkirk settlers, the majority being French-Canadians or half-breeds of English or French origin — all of them children of the fur-trade.

A generation after the establishment of the Selkirk colony, settlements began to grow up on the Pacific slope. In the years preceding the Oregon treaty of 1846, American immigrants in considerable numbers began to flock into the Oregon country. At first the Hudson's Bay

agent in that region, Dr. John McLoughlin, succeeded in administering the government with marked success; but gradually the influx of population drove the fur-traders northward, and gave to the United States a vast territory south of the forty-ninth parallel which had been in dispute between them and Great Britain. In 1849 the first coal mine in British Columbia was opened, and the discovery of gold in California had a reflex influence on the country farther north. In 1849, too, Vancouver Island was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; and the Company actually undertook to establish a colony on the island.

The island had great advantages for colonisation: "In all the accounts we hear of it," wrote one of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, "it is a kind of England attached to the Continent of America." But the

Development of British Columbia Company was more anxious to control immigration than to promote it, and for many years the colony made slow progress. Nevertheless, in 1856, the population was considered such as to warrant the calling of a legislative assembly. The same year an event of importance occurred on the mainland. Gold was found in the beds of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers, and gold-miners began to flock into the country. As a result, British Columbia was in 1858 erected into a Crown colony; and James (afterwards Sir James) Douglas, the Governor of Vancouver Island and the great figure in the history of the colonisation of the Pacific slope, was created Lieutenant-governor.

But if the Hudson's Bay Company was powerless to prevent settlement from gaining a foothold in British Columbia

Settlement of the Prairies Impeded and Vancouver Island, it was more successful in regard to the great prairies lying between the Great

Lakes and the Rockies. In 1859 the Company's license, granted originally in 1821 and renewed in 1838, was due to run out; and every effort was made to hide from the world the agricultural possibilities of the West, in order that the license might not be allowed to lapse. Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, testified

before the House of Commons Committee on the affairs of the Company in 1857, that no part of the vast territories of the Company were well adapted for settlement. The crops, he said, were everywhere uncertain; in the Saskatchewan country, the Company's servants had very seldom been able to raise wheat; and the coast opposite Vancouver Island was wholly unfit for colonisation. It is true that the value of Simpson's evidence was somewhat diminished by the fact that he had expressed directly contrary views in a published book; but there were not wanting those who, like Colonel Lefroy, a soldier unconnected with the Company, confidently asserted that "agricultural settlement can make but very slender progress in any of that region."

At the same time, however, there were those who foresaw that British North America, if it was to reach its full development, must extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. "I hope you **Dreamers of the Future West** will not laugh at me as a visionary," said Chief Justice Draper, before the 1857 Committee, "but I hope to see the time, or that my children may live to see the time, when there is a railway going all across the country and ending at the Pacific." There was a possibility that, unless British occupation of the West were made effective, American immigration from Minnesota might precipitate a crisis, in which case a republic might be proclaimed in the West, and the British provinces on the Atlantic and the Pacific cut asunder.

A Committee of the House of Commons in 1857 suggested a friendly arrangement between the Crown and the Hudson's Bay Company, whereby the districts on the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers might be opened for early settlement, and ceded to Canada on equitable principles. It also recommended the termina-

The Bay Company Reorganised tion of the connection of Vancouver Island with the Hudson's Bay Company, and the ultimate extension of the colony over any portions of British Columbia on which permanent settlements might be found practicable. Nothing came immediately of the recommendations of the Committee; but in 1863 the Hudson's Bay Company was reorganised,



A BEAUTIFUL VALLEY SCENE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA



AN EXPERIMENTAL FARM AT AGASSIZ



A TOWNSHIP OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, ON THE FRASER RIVER
TYPICAL SCENES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

in such a way that a new Company came into existence, which was favourable to the colonisation of the West, and the Governor of which was Sir Edmund Head, who had recently been the Governor-General of Canada. At the same time, a commissioner was sent out to the Red River settlement to report on the possibility of developing the country.

Gradually it came to be seen that before any real development of the West could be expected, the federation of the British provinces in North America must take place. As Lord Strathcona later pointed out, "The acquisition and development of the Hudson's Bay territory was impossible prior to the confederation of the Dominion. No less a body than United Canada could have acquired and administered so large a domain, or have undertaken the construction of railways, without which its development could only have been slow and uncertain." In 1867 the federation of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick took place; and almost immediately negotiations were set on foot for the acquisition of the Hudson's Bay Company territories.

In 1868 Sir Georges Cartier and William McDougall, a Canadian politician whose reputation was to suffer shipwreck

**The Company
Sells its
Western Lands**

in connection with the North-West a year or more later, went to England, and succeeded in purchasing from the Hudson's Bay Company for £300,000 their territorial rights, on condition that one-twentieth of the land and the territory adjacent to the fur-trading posts should be reserved for the Company. The agreement was accepted by the Canadian parliament; and in November, 1869, a deed of surrender to the Crown was duly signed by the Hudson's Bay Company. At the same time, negotiations were going on for the incorporation of British Columbia in the Dominion.

In 1858 British Columbia had been made a Crown Colony; and in 1866 it had been united with Vancouver Island.

**British Columbia
Joins the
Federation**

In 1869 the British Columbia legislature passed resolutions in favour of federation with the Dominion, and delegates were sent to Ottawa to arrange terms. As a result, in July, 1871, British Columbia became

part of the Dominion of Canada. One of the conditions of its entrance into the federation was that a transcontinental railway should be begun within two years and completed within ten.

The inclusion of British Columbia in the Dominion was accomplished without any untoward incident, except that it was afterwards found impossible to complete the railway within the time specified; but unfortunately, the taking over by the Dominion of the North-West Territories was accompanied by serious disorders. The French-Canadians and half-breeds of the West were, as the history of the Selkirk settlement had shown, a turbulent and unruly crew. They were hostile to the new arrangement; and their hostility was not lessened by the tactless behaviour of the Canadian surveyors who began to overrun the Red River valley in the summer of 1869, running their lines through the holdings of the half-breeds. The two men who might have exercised a restraining effect on the half-breeds were McTavish, the Hudson's Bay Company's Governor, and Taché, the Roman Catholic Bishop; but McTavish was at this time seriously ill, and Taché was in Rome.

Sir John A. Macdonald recognised that the situation required careful handling; and he urged William McDougall, who was appointed Lieutenant-governor of the new territories, to refuse to take over the administration from the Hudson's Bay Company until he was assured a peaceful entrance into the duties of government. McDougall, however, did not profit by this advice, and on his arrival in the West hastily issued a proclamation formally annexing to the Dominion Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. The result was a rising of the half-breeds. Under Louis Riel, a clever but somewhat visionary and fanatical French-Canadian, they blocked his path near Pembina, south of the Red River settlement, and forced him to take refuge in American territory. Riel thereupon set up a provisional government, in which he played the part of a dictator, imprisoned a special mission which the Canadian government had sent up to investigate the troubles, and when the English loyalists advanced from Portage

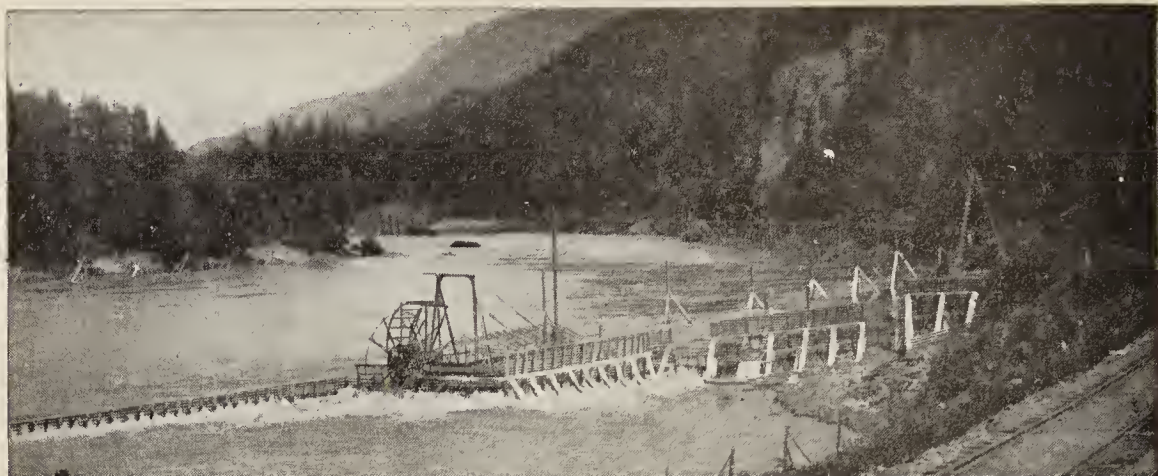


LOOKING UP THE BOW RIVER AT BANFF, ALBERTA



NATIONAL PARK, WITH AN AREA OF 5,400 SQUARE MILES, AT BANFF
THE ALPINE BEAUTIES OF CANADIAN SCENERY

Photos: Canadian Pacific Railway



WHEEL FOR CATCHING SALMON ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER



SALMON JUMPING: THE FISHERS HAULING IN THEIR NETS



A FINE CATCH OF ROYAL CHINOOK SALMON
SALMON FISHING IN CANADIAN WATERS

THE GROWTH OF THE CANADIAN WEST

la Prairie to overthrow his dictatorship, repelled their attack, and murdered, with the mere pretence of legal proceedings, one of the loyalists who was captured.

These events for a time almost threatened the integrity of the new Dominion. The murdered man was an ardent

The Half-Breeds are Placated

Orangeman from Ontario; and his death roused the bitterest indignation in the English province. In Quebec,

however, some sympathy was felt for Riel and his French-Canadian half-breeds, on the ground that they had been sold like serfs by the Hudson's Bay Company, and had been ignored by the Dominion. In order to satisfy the French-Canadians, Bishop Taché, who had been hurriedly recalled from Rome, was sent to the West with what he regarded as a promise of an amnesty to Riel and the half-breeds if they would submit to Canadian rule; and in order to meet the demands of the English province, a combined British and Canadian force under Colonel (afterwards Lord) Wolseley was sent up to the Red River by way of Lake Superior. This force reached Fort Garry, where Winnipeg now stands, in the late summer of 1870, and had no difficulty in reducing the half-breeds to a condition of peace and order. Meanwhile the Dominion had formally taken over the administration of the North-West Territories, and had carved out of them the new province of Manitoba, in which the Red River half-breeds were to enjoy the same rights of self-government as were enjoyed by Canadian subjects in Ontario and Quebec.

THE ROYAL NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE

After 1870 the government of Manitoba presented few problems that differed radically from those which were met with in the other provinces of Canada; but the administration of the North-West Territories, which remained in the hands of the Dominion govern-

Administration of the Territories

ment, gave rise to difficulties which required special treatment. It was here that the great Indian tribes, which were still warlike and powerful, were concentrated; and it was here that many of the Red River half-breeds settled after immigration from the East began to flow into Manitoba. Here, too, gathered a lawless element, derived partly from desperadoes from the American West and outlaws from eastern Canada and Great Britain, who carried on an illicit trade in whiskey with the Indians.

In order to cope with these difficulties, Sir John A. Macdonald in 1874 established the Royal North-West Mounted Police. The record of this small body of troops is as fine as anything else in Canadian history. It was at first only 300 strong, yet it undertook to keep order in a territory thousands of miles in extent, and inhabited by the most unruly elements on the continent. Its success was phenomenal. In the year of its establishment it marched from west of the Great Lakes to the base of the Rockies, where it stamped out the trade in whiskey with the Blackfoot



LOUIS RIEL

Who led the rebellions in the North-West Territory, and was finally executed on the charge of treason, on November 16, 1885.

Indians. Posts were established throughout the West, from which lonely patrols went out in all directions. The men in the force were carefully picked, being hard riders and dead shots. Many stories might be told of their prowess. The following laconic report from a corporal in the force may be taken as illustrative of their daily tasks:

"On the 17th inst., I, Corporal Hogg, was called to the hotel to quiet a disturbance. I found the room full of cowboys, and one Monaghan, or 'Cowboy Jack,' was carrying a gun, and pointed it at me, against sections 105 and 109 of the Criminal Code. We struggled. Finally I got him handcuffed behind, and put him inside. His head being in bad shape I had to engage the services of a doctor, who dressed his wound and pronounced it as nothing serious. To the doctor

An Interesting Human Document

Monaghan said that if I hadn't grabbed his gun there'd be another death in Canadian history. All of which I have the honour to report.

(Signed) "C. Hogg, Corporal."

The Indians soon learnt that if any man was wanted by the Police, he might as well give himself up, as they would get him sooner or later. Many cases occurred where one or two constables arrested a "bad Indian" in the face of a howling horde of braves. The respect which the scarlet coats of the Police came to inspire in the Indians is well illustrated by a story, for which there is good authority, of the extradition by

The Work of the Police

the United States of about two hundred Canadian Crees. These Indians were escorted to the border by a strong force of United States cavalry, for the memory of the Custer Massacre of 1876 was still fresh in the minds of the American authorities. At the border, the party was met by three Mounted Policemen, one corporal and two troopers. The American commanding officer, looking at them in surprise, asked, "Where is your escort for these Indians?" "We're here," answered the corporal. "Yes, yes, I see," said the officer, "but where is your regiment?" "I guess it's all right," replied the corporal. "The other fellow's looking after the breakfast things."

With only one disturbance were the North-West Mounted Police unable to cope. This was the North-West Rebellion of 1885. The Police were in no way to blame for the rebellion; indeed it was due to the fact that their warnings were disregarded at Ottawa. In 1870 the half-breeds of Manitoba had been granted allotments of land; but

The North-West Territory Broken Up

the half-breeds of the North-West Territories had received no such grants, and had continued to occupy the lands where they had squatted. Many of the Red River half-breeds too had sold their land grants, and had moved out into the prairies. After 1882, when the North-West Territories were broken up into four districts, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabaska, Canadian surveyors were sent out to plot out the country; and

these surveyors made the same mistake as had been made in 1869, running their lines ruthlessly through the farms of the half-breeds.

The half-breeds petitioned for redress, but got no satisfaction from the Canadian government. Finally they sent a deputation down to Montana, where Louis Riel was living quietly, and begged him to come back and lead them in revolt. On the arrival of Wolseley's expedition in 1870, Riel had escaped; but

The North-West Rebellion

in consideration of some good service done by him in preventing a Fenian raid from American territory, he had been granted some sort of pardon by the Lieutenant-Governor. He had been elected later a member of the Dominion House of Commons, and in 1874 he actually tried to take his seat; but feeling against him was still so strong that he was expelled from the House, and was then outlawed. He went to the United States; and it was there that the agents of the half-breeds found him. He accepted their invitation; and on his return to Canada, began to organise the rebellion with his old-time enthusiasm and ability.

Many of the Indians were restless, owing to the gradual invasion of the West by the white man and the extinction of the buffalo; and he persuaded a number of the chiefs to join hands with the half-breeds. In the spring of 1885, the revolt broke out with the repulse of a party of North-West Mounted Police at Duck Lake. The Canadian government took

The Fate of Riel

prompt action, and sent up to the North-West a considerable force, composed of Canadian volunteers, under General Middleton. The half-breeds fought well at first; and the troops suffered reverses at Cutknife Creek, near Battleford, and at Fish Creek, north-west of Regina. An Indian massacre took place too at Frog Lake. But reinforcements enabled General Middleton to storm the rebel camp at Batoche, and to capture Riel. Riel was promptly tried on the charge of high treason, was found guilty, and in November, 1885, was hanged at Regina. He met his fate without a sign of fear; and fanatical and stormy though his career had been, it cannot be denied that he

THE GROWTH OF THE CANADIAN WEST

was a brave and able man. Nor should it be forgotten that the rebellion was brought on, not through any disloyalty on the part of the half-breeds, but through the careless and tactless policy of the Dominion government.

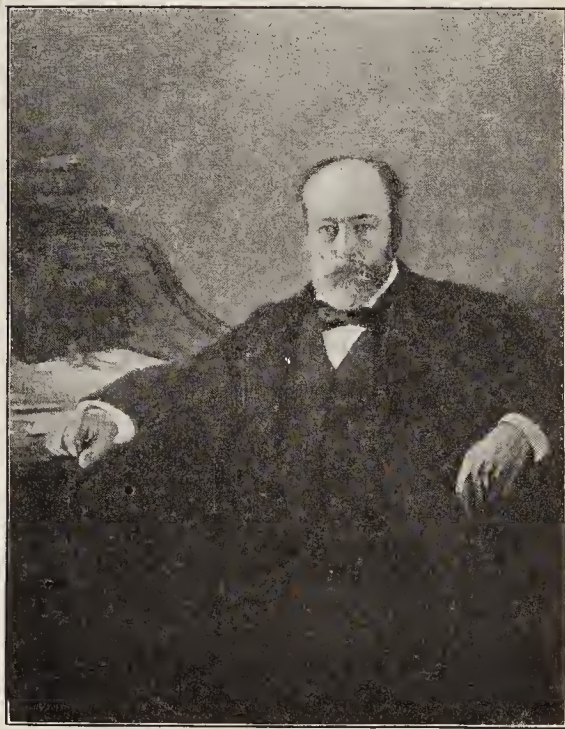
MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT

One of the conditions of British Columbia's entrance into the Dominion had been the building of a transcontinental railway. The preliminary negotiations for the building of this railway were still under way when Sir John A. Macdonald was driven from power under the shadow of the "Pacific Scandal." The Liberal government of Alexander Mackenzie, which succeeded to power, proved half-hearted about the railway, and went ahead with it so slowly that British Columbia was on the verge of secession, and was held within the Dominion only through the wisdom and skill of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of Canada. The return of Sir John A. Macdonald to power in 1878 was the signal for a more vigorous prosecution of the building of the railway. In 1880 the present Canadian Pacific Railway Company was incorporated, with Sir Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona) and Sir George Stephen (afterwards Lord Mountstephen) as its chief promoters; and in 1881 the company set to work, splendidly backed up by Macdonald's government.

The terms offered the company were generous: the government gave the company \$25,000,000 in cash, 25,000,000 acres of land, and about 670 miles of railway which was already built, or was to be built through some of the most difficult parts of the country. But the hazard was great. Many people prophesied that the railway would involve its promoters, and even the country, in hopeless financial ruin. The leading Liberal newspaper predicted that it would never "pay for its axle grease;" and a leading Liberal statesman laughed at the idea of building a railway through "a sea of mountains." The promoters, however, with magnificent faith in the future of the West, embarked their last dollar in the enterprise; and aided by the organising genius of William (afterwards Sir

William) Van Horne (died 1915), triumphed over every obstacle.

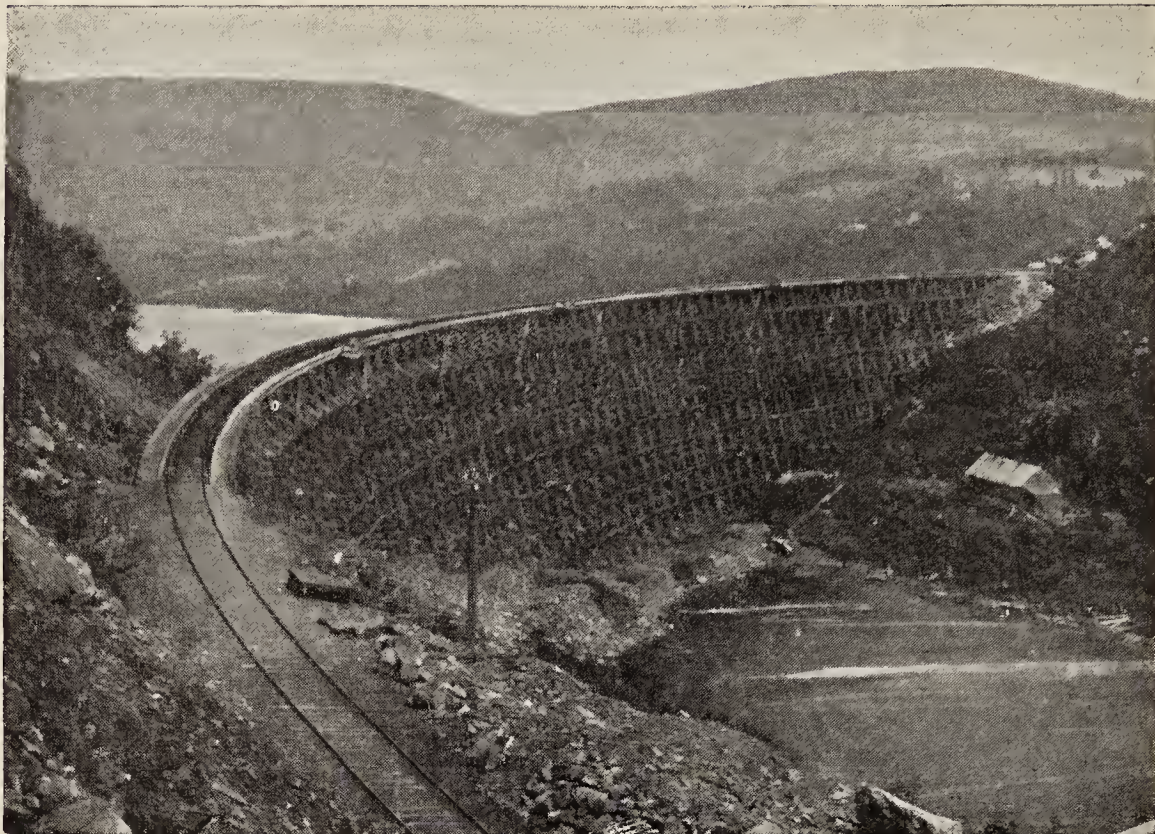
The cost of the road proved to be enormous. Time and again the govern-



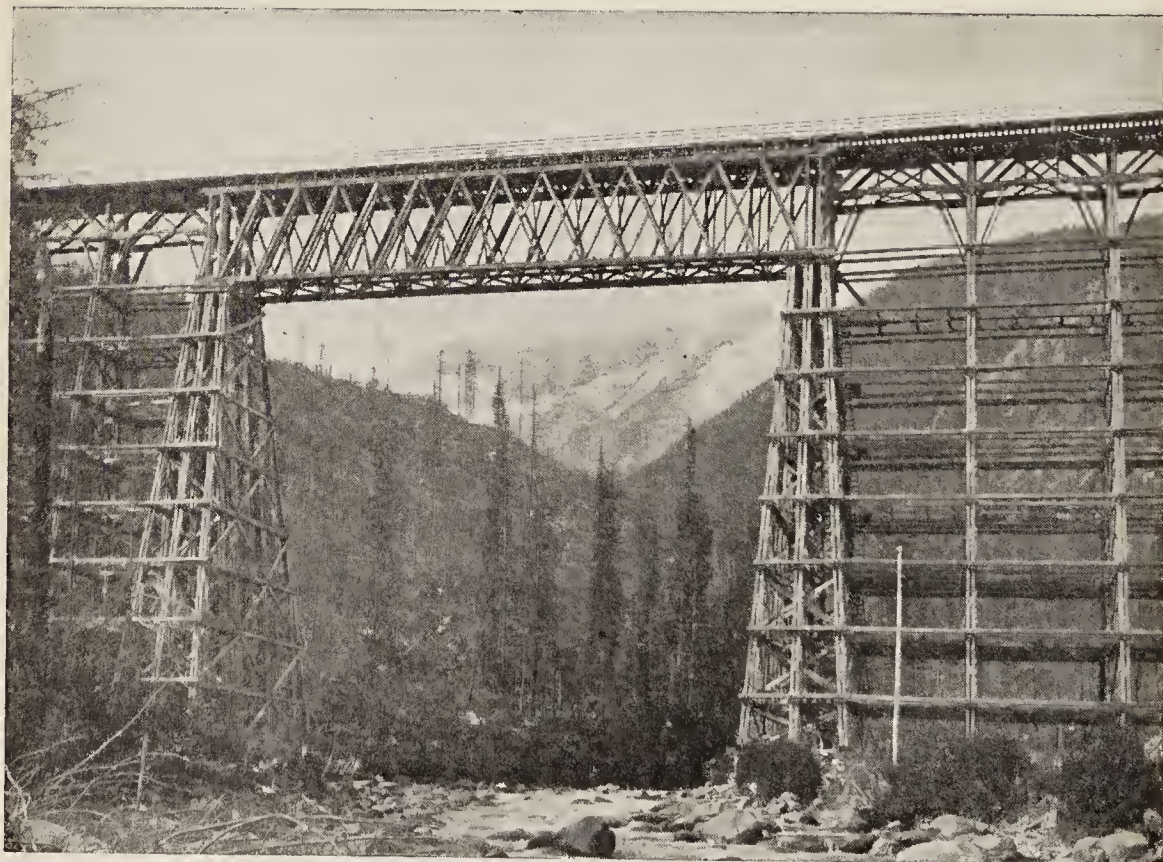
SIR WILLIAM VAN HORNE
Late Chairman Canadian Pacific Railway.

ment had to come to the help of the company; and in 1883 Macdonald's resolution failed him. It is said that Sir George Stephen had packed his bag and was about to leave Canada a ruined man, when Macdonald was finally persuaded to call another cabinet meeting and to agree to vote the last millions that were needed. The line was built solidly, but with headlong speed. It was pushed rapidly around the barren northern shores of Lake Superior, across the wilderness between Lake Superior and Winnipeg, across the prairies, through the terrible Kicking Horse Pass, and down to the valley of the Fraser to the Pacific. On the prairies a record was established by the laying of six miles of rail a day. The contract called for the completion of the line in ten years; but so rapidly did the work proceed that on November 7, 1885, at the lonely hamlet of Craigellachie in the Rockies, Sir Donald Smith drove home the last spike.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway made possible the settlement of



RED SUCKER TRESTLE BRIDGE ON LAKE SUPERIOR



MOUNTAIN CREEK BRIDGE, CONTAINING ONE AND A HALF MILLION FEET OF TIMBER
SCENES ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

THE GROWTH OF THE CANADIAN WEST

the West. At first, the immigration was not heavy; for the possibilities of the country were not immediately understood, and tales of the bitter north-western winter frightened away settlers. But along the railway, towns began rapidly to grow up. The growth of Calgary at this time is well illustrated by extracts from the diary of a harness-maker who settled there in the early days:

"1883

"May 18. I put my name in the window and it is the first sign in Calgary . . .

"July 31. Gave subscription and Ad. to first paper in the place . . .

"August 11. The train crossed the Bow . . .

"August 16. Temporary station arrived . . .

"August 20. Newspaper tent put up near the railroad . . .

"August 31. First number of Calgary *Herald* issued . . .

"September 28. Bannerman the post-master received his first mail by train . . .

"1884.

"January 7. Attended first public meeting in Calgary at Methodist church . . .

"May 27. Made out Bill for meeting on Friday night to decide upon a representative in the North-West Council . . .

"August 22. Attended first meeting of Calgary Agricultural Society . . .

"November 10. News of incorporation came . . .

"1885

"April 14. Swore in first board of school trustees . . ."

Away from the railway, however, the country continued bare of settlement. In 1890 a prominent Canadian statesman described the West as "still empty." It was, indeed, only at the close of the nineteenth century, after the accession to power of the Liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the country began to fill up. The Minister of the Interior in that

government, Clifford (now Sir Clifford) Sifton, realising that the great need of the West was population, inaugurated an aggressive immigration policy, and by means of an extensive advertising campaign, not only in Great Britain and the United States, but also in almost all the countries of continental Europe, induced an annual influx into the West of tens of thousands of immigrants.

Some mistakes were made in the type



AN INDIAN OF THE PLAINS
From a sketch by Edmund Morris

of immigrants obtained. The Doukhobors, for instance, a kind of Russian Quakers, living according to a communistic system, have proved particularly impervious to Canadian ideals. But on the whole the settlers were of an excellent type, and have in a few years transformed Western Canada from a lonely wilderness into a highly developed agricultural and stock-raising country. Towns, schools, court-houses sprang up in every direction with bewildering rapidity.

To illustrate this growth an excerpt may be taken from the annual report of one of the Dominion Land agents, dated 1904: "The town of Davidson, which at the time of the previous report was practically not in existence, has progressed with the development of the

Rapid Growth
of Western
Towns

Campaign
for
Immigration

to power of the Liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the country began to fill up. The Minister of the Interior in that

surrounding country, and now boasts two general stores, two hardware stores, two large hotels, livery stable, blacksmith and machine shops, four implement warehouses, Dominion Lands office, sash and door factory, shops and offices, including a newspaper called the *Davidson Leader*. At this point it was necessary to erect an immigration building in order to accommodate the large number of settlers going east and west from here."



AN INDIAN OF THE PLAINS
From a sketch by Edmund Morris

This record of a year's growth might be paralleled by the mention of a hundred other cases. So populous did the North-West Territories become that in 1905 it was found necessary to create in the southern part of them two new provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

This rapid growth brought with it serious problems. There were over 250,000,000 acres of arable land in the West; and though not all of this is yet occupied, the harvests each year increased so wonderfully that the difficulty of transportation promised to become acute. Men who had been laughed at as dreamers for saying that they would live to see the West export 20,000,000 bushels of wheat,

lived to see it export 100,000,000 bushels. To carry out such a crop meant such a railway problem as no country with so small a population as Canada has ever faced. The Canadian Pacific Railway increased its mileage from 3,000 miles to over 10,000; but it was unable to cope with the problem, and in 1903 the Laurier administration gave a charter to another transcontinental railway, running across the continent farther north than the Canadian Pacific. This railway was opened for transcontinental traffic in 1915.

Meanwhile, two private contractors, Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, have built a system of railways through the country which will soon link up the Atlantic with the Pacific, and thus afford Canada a third transcontinental railway. The advantages of Hudson Bay as a channel for the export of grain have also been canvassed, and the Hudson Bay Railway, connecting the western prairies with Hudson Bay, is being built by the government. Hudson Strait is, of course, navigable only for certain months of the year; but it is expected that, with the aid of ice-breakers, it will be kept open long enough to relieve the freight congestion on the railway lines and the steamship lines to the south.

Every year in the West the "edge of cultivation" is being pushed farther and farther back. Lands which were at one time thought to be useless for purposes of agriculture or cattle-raising, are turning out to be unexcelled. One of the results of this expansion has been that the danger of a ruined harvest, from which the West suffered much in the early days, is no longer present. One or two districts may be wiped out by hail or rust; but that the crops should fail all over the West is no longer thinkable. The future of the West is therefore assured. The centre of the Dominion may not move westward, as some prophets foretell, for the West is lacking in some of the facilities for manufacturing enjoyed by eastern Canada; but the time is rapidly approaching when its importance in the Dominion will be as great as that of the older and richer provinces of Ontario and Quebec rolled together.

The Western
Crops Now
Certain

A New
Railway is
Projected

SCENES of AGRICULTURAL LIFE IN CANADA



A TYPICAL PLOUGHING SCENE IN THE WEST OF CANADA



WHEAT-REAPING IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

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THRESHING GRAIN IN WESTERN CANADA: FIRST STAGE



THRESHING GRAIN: SECOND STAGE—FILLING THE BAGS



THRESHING GRAIN: THIRD STAGE—LOADING UP



AN ABUNDANT CROP OF THE GOLDEN GRAIN IN MANITOBA



STACKING WHEAT IN WESTERN CANADA



TYPICAL HOME OF THE PROSPEROUS CANADIAN FARMER



FARM BUILDINGS IN THE FAR WEST



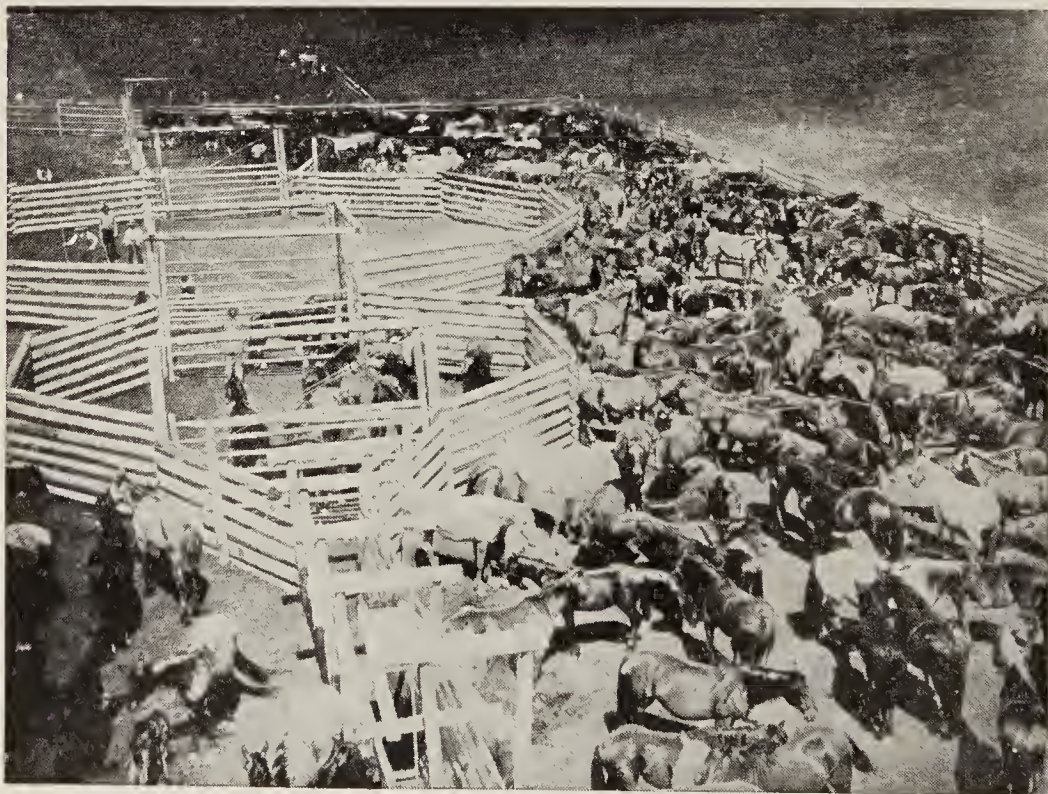
GRAIN ELEVATOR AT FORT WILLIAM, ONTARIO



ARRIVAL OF GRAIN AT AN ELEVATOR IN WESTERN CANADA



HERD OF CATTLE BY GULL LAKE, SASKATCHEWAN



"ROUND-UP" OF BROOD MARES, AT CALGARY, ALBERTA



SHEEP GRAZING ON A CANADIAN PRAIRIE FARM



READY FOR THE SHEARER: THE WEALTH OF A CANADIAN FARMER



A WELL-ESTABLISHED APPLE ORCHARD IN ONTARIO. FORTY YEARS OLD



HOEING GOOSEBERRY PLANTS, FONTHILL, ONTARIO



CANADA IN OUR OWN TIME

THE PRESENT POSITION AND THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINION

CANADA is to-day a country with a vast area and a small population. Her geographical extent is greater than that of the United States, inclusive of Alaska. "If you could pivot Canada upon its eastern seaboard," as Sir Robert Borden has graphically put it, "it would cover the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean, the British Islands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the northern part of France, the entire German Empire, and a considerable part of European Russia, and a man who lives in Halifax is a thousand miles farther from Victoria than he is from London."

**The Ex-
tent of
Canada**

The population of this vast territory is scarcely eight millions. Of these somewhat less than one million live in the Maritime Provinces: Nova Scotia has a population approaching 500,000; New Brunswick has a population approaching 400,000; while little Prince Edward Island has less than 100,000. The population of the province of Quebec is well over 2,000,000; that of the province of Ontario is over 2,500,000. These two are by far the most populous and most important provinces. The remainder of the population is scattered through the Western provinces, the North-West Territory, and the Yukon. Manitoba contains in the neighbourhood of half a million souls; the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia contain each a population somewhat less than that of Manitoba; and a few thousands make up the population of

the North-West Territories, in which is included the population of the administrative district of the Yukon.

The Maritime Provinces contain the oldest settlements in the Dominion. There were settlers in the Annapolis valley in Nova Scotia before Quebec was even a fur-trading post; and the first

**The
Maritime
Provinces**

great wave of English immigration into Canada, the influx of the United Empire Loyalists, brought to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick three or four times the immigration it brought into what is now Ontario. The comparatively small population of the Maritime Provinces to-day is due not only to the fact that these provinces have profited little by the immigration that has poured into Canada in recent years, but also to the contribution they have made of their sons and daughters to the building up of the newer provinces in the west and to the United States. One of these provinces, the tiny province of Prince Edward Island, the people of which derive their livelihood from agriculture and fishing, has actually declined in population. In the ten years, from 1901 to 1911, the census returns showed a drop in its population of nearly 10,000. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, however, the growth, though slow, has been steady: between 1901 and 1911 the population of Nova Scotia increased by over 32,000, and that of New Brunswick by over 20,000.

Of the three Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia is by all odds the richest

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

and most advantageously situated. Jutting out into the Atlantic in the form of a peninsula, it is conveniently situated both for trade with the United States, and with the countries of Europe. Its long coastline affords many excellent harbours, which make it an excellent base for deep-sea fishing and for the ship-building industry. Halifax, its capital, a city with a touch of Old World charm about it, is the winter port of Canada, as well as an important British naval station. It was formerly an important military post, but from a military standpoint that importance is no

an excellent sea-port in St. John, at the mouth of the St. John River; but its exports are chiefly fish, which is as great a source of income to New Brunswick as it is to Nova Scotia; timber, of which the forests of New Brunswick still supply an enormous annual cut; and grain and live stock. Curiously enough, in spite of the fact that it is one of the oldest settled provinces in the Dominion, vast tracts of New Brunswick—amounting in fact to nearly 75 per cent of the province—are still unoccupied. The reason for this is that most of the land, though of fair quality, is as



A CHARACTERISTIC FRUIT FARM IN NOVA SCOTIA

longer so great. The exports of Nova Scotia are considerable. Its soil is fertile, its climate is mild, and its fruit products, especially its apples, are much in demand in the English market. It possesses also in Cape Breton vast coal and iron deposits which have given rise to extensive manufactures. Sydney, the centre of the Cape Breton iron and steel industry, bids fair to become one of the great workshops of the North American continent.

New Brunswick is scarcely less rich than Nova Scotia in many of its natural products; but it is handicapped by the lack of some of the manufacturing facilities which Nova Scotia enjoys. It has

yet uncleared of timber; and it is hardly to be expected that second-rate land in New Brunswick will find settlers to clear it of timber when first-rate land is to be had in the North-West from which no timber requires to be cleared. Consequently, a large part of New Brunswick still remains in its virgin state, and affords a paradise for sportsmen.

The population of both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick contains a small element of French origin. These people are, for the most part, descendants of the old Acadians who have wandered back to the country from which their fathers were exiled.

The Population of the Maritime Provinces



CAPE BRETON'S CAPITAL TOWN: GENERAL VIEW OF SYDNEY

They have representatives in both houses of the Nova Scotia legislature, which is bicameral; and they have shown themselves, like the French-Canadians, very tenacious of their racial identity; but their numbers are so few, in comparison with the English-speaking population, that their influence on the course of public affairs has not been great. The majority of the people of both provinces are descended, either directly or indirectly, from the United Empire Loyalists.

The Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were, for the most part, drawn from the better classes in the American colonies before the Revolutionary War; they belonged to the professional, land-owning, or official classes; and their influence has persisted in their descendants. Not only did an old-world tinge appear for many years in society in the Maritime Provinces; but there have been many evidences that the stock in these prov-

inces was of no mean ability. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have given to the rest of Canada many of its greatest college presidents, chief among whom was that free-lance of Canadian public life, Principal Grant of Queen's University, Kingston, whose "*From Ocean to Ocean*" first gave the Canadian people an idea of the potentialities of the Canadian West.

The Maritime Provinces have been a school for statesmen: Joseph Howe was a native of Nova Scotia; Sir Charles

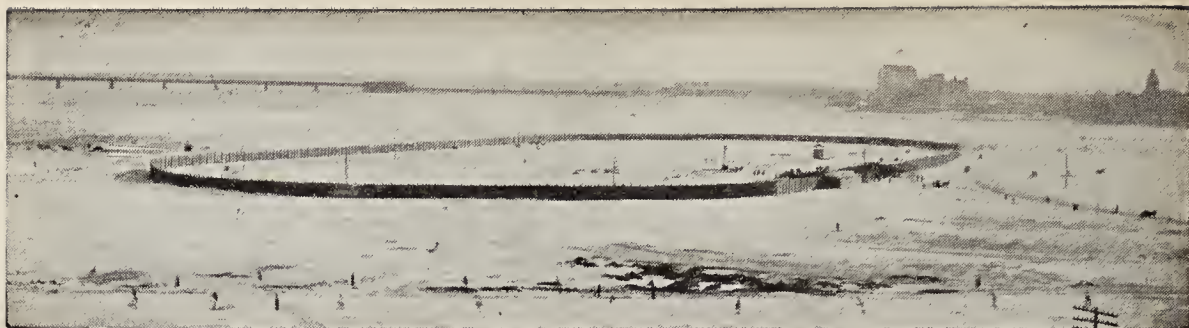
Tupper, now the only surviving member of the Quebec Conference of 1864, is a native of New Brunswick; and Sir Robert Borden, the present Prime Minister of Canada, was, before he entered political life, a Halifax lawyer. In literature the record of the Maritime Provinces has been no less distinguished. Thomas C. Haliburton, the author of *The Adventures of Sam Slick*, the great Canadian humorous classic, was a New Brunswick judge;

Literature in
the Eastern
Provinces

The
Loyalist
Immigration



NORTH BATTLEFORD BRIDGE, ONE OF THE LONGEST IN CANADA



THE RACECOURSE ON THE FROZEN RIVER ST. LAWRENCE AT MONTREAL

and some of the chief figures in the modern Canadian school of poetry, notably Bliss Carman and Charles G. D. Roberts, have drawn their inspiration from these, their native provinces by the sea.

The province of Quebec is, in territorial extent, the largest of the provinces of the Dominion; it contains over 700,000 square miles. In the Confederation system, it occupies a peculiar position. It is inhabited, for the most part, by a race differing in laws, languages, religion, and political outlook from the overwhelming majority of the population of the other provinces. The civil code of the province of Quebec is based upon the old Custom of Paris in force in France before the days of the French Revolution; the French-Canadian *habitant* speaks a *patois* based upon the provincial dialects of Normandy and Brittany in the eighteenth century; he yields to the Roman Catholic Church an allegiance reminiscent of the early middle ages; and his politics are still largely a matter of following the leader. Sir Georges Cartier used frankly to call his followers his "*moutons*."

The province of Quebec is in many respects a little bit of the Old World

preserved in the midst of the New. The people are simple, religious, and somewhat unprogressive. They till their farms as their ancestors tilled them, they go to church on Sunday, they marry and are given in marriage, and enormous families of children grow up about them. Families of twelve, or thirteen children, many even larger, are by no means uncommon; and it is a sober fact that the French-Canadian population of the province of Quebec has doubled in numbers every twenty-nine years since 1763.

The English-speaking element in the province is virtually confined to the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and to the Eastern Townships, which lie to the south-east of Montreal. The English-speaking element comprises perhaps one-fifth of the total population of the province; but its numbers are constantly decreasing in comparison with the French.

In Quebec, the picturesque old capital of Canada, which is like a town of provincial France, the English population has dwindled until it is now scarcely 5,000. In the Eastern Townships, which were almost wholly settled by English or

The Old
World in
the New

French
Gaining in
Quebec



LITTLE CHAMPLAIN STREET: QUEBEC'S QUIANT AND PICTURESQUE THOROUGHFARE



THE RIVER SOURIS NEAR ITS ENTRANCE INTO THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE



A PRETTY VIEW OF POWNAL, WITH THE BAY IN THE DISTANCE



ON THE ROAD: A CHARACTERISTIC SIGHT IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, CANADA'S ISLAND PROVINCE

Valentine

American immigrants, and which still bear, for the most part, English names, the English-speaking element is rapidly being driven out by the French. And even in Montreal, the largest city in the Dominion, the same process is under way. In 1849, when the old Parliament Buildings in Montreal were burned down, the mob of Montreal was English; to-day the majority of the population is French. This result is partly due to natural causes, such as the lure of the West and the astonishing growth of the French race; but it is also due in part to a desire on the part of the French to reserve the province for themselves. The financial and commercial interests of the province are still largely in the hands of the English; but even here the French-Canadians have been making inroads, and the day is not far distant perhaps when even finance and commerce will also be in their hands.

Quebec is by no means the poorest of the Canadian provinces in resources. The fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence are still a great source of income; the forests of northern Quebec still supply vast quantities of lumber and pulp-wood; and in spite of the many years during which the soil of the province has been worked, it still supplies a goodly annual harvest. Of the dairy industry the French-Canadians have made an especial success, and they export butter and cheese in great quantities. The position of the province, moreover, at the entrance to the great internal waterway system of Canada, gives it great commercial advantages.

Montreal is the great seaport of the Dominion, and practically all the commerce between Canada and Europe passes through it. Within recent years, a great attempt has been made to develop the hitherto latent resources of the province. Immigration from France has been encouraged, including great numbers of the members of the religious orders expelled from France; and these, as well as the surplus population of the province itself, have been placed on the land in new districts, such as that about Lake St. John in Northern Quebec. These new settlements have been attended with great success, for the

French-Canadian is a hardy pioneer.

Politically, the province of Quebec is in a unique position. It is, in a sense, the pivot of the federal system. By the terms of the British North America Act, Quebec must always have sixty-five members in the Dominion House of Commons; and the rest of the provinces share in the representation in the ratio which their population bears to that



THE HABITANT

From the painting by Macnaughton

of Quebec. The great majority of French-Canadians usually vote together: under Sir Georges Cartier, the colleague of Sir John A. Macdonald, they were almost solid Conservative; under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, they were almost solidly Liberal. Consequently, they have exercised in Dominion politics an influence out of proportion to their numbers. Of recent years, a third party has sprung up in the province of Quebec, the Nationalist party, under the leadership of the

redoubtable Henri Bourassa, a grandson of Papineau, and the editor of a Montreal newspaper. In some respects, the Nationalists bear a resemblance to the *patriotes* of '37 and the *parti rouge* of Confederation times.

The party stands for equal rights for French and English, in all matters relating to law, language, and religion, throughout the Dominion.

Political Attitude of the French It is anti-imperial; and it sometimes seems as though some of its extremer mem-

bers occasionally dream of a French-Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, a *nation Canadienne*. Its dissimilarity to the *patriote* party of 1837 and the *parti rouge* lies in the fact, that, while they were anti-clerical, it is strongly clerical; and in return, it has the support of a large number of the French-Canadian Roman Catholic clergy. The value of this support can only be appreciated when it is remembered that in the province of Quebec the Roman Catholic Church exercises a power such as it now exercises probably in no other part of the world. It controls the provincial system of education; and the payment of tithes by Roman Catholics is enforced by process of law. So great is the hold of the church over the minds of the *habitants* that the courts have been forced to intervene to prevent the undue influence of the bishops and priests in political affairs; and there are signs of a reaction among some of the more enlightened French-Canadians in the direction of anti-clericalism.

The relations between the French and the English in Canada have never been completely harmonious. The rebellion of 1837 was the culmination of a long period of racial strife; the history of Canada under the Union of

1841, was merely the story of a racial warfare; and though Confederation has justified itself by bringing about an abatement of racial feeling, there are still difficulties in the way of complete sympathy between the two races. One of the most important of these is the question of Canada's relation to the Empire: the English-Canadians are, on the whole, in favour of the centralisation of the Empire; the French-Canadians are, on the

whole, opposed to it. It is largely the influence of the French-Canadians which has hitherto held Canada back from doing her full share in the naval defence of the Empire. There is at present no acute antagonism between the French and the English; each element merely goes its own way, and endeavours as much as possible to avoid causes of friction. The two races are like the waters of two streams, which join and flow side by side, but do not mingle.

The French-Canadians have a distinct intellectual life of their own. Laval University, which has faculties both in Quebec and Montreal, is the foremost Roman Catholic institution of learning on the continent. The French-

Canadians have shown a special aptitude for literature. Their poets, notable among whom was Louis Fréchette, have been no unworthy heirs of French song; and their historians have shown a research and erudition all too uncommon in the English provinces. Especial attention has been devoted to local history and to genealogy, studies which have been carried with them to a height elsewhere unknown in America. Although they cling tenaciously to their own language, many of the French-Canadians have acquired an admirable mastery of English; and it is a striking fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who is probably the foremost master of English public speaking in Canada, is a French-Canadian.

Ontario is undoubtedly the premier province of the Dominion. It has the largest population; and it is the chief industrial district. In addition to this, it has vast natural resources. In spite of the fact that of recent years there

has been a movement of population from the country to the city, agriculture flourishes in Ontario hardly less than in the Western provinces. The forests of Ontario yield a larger lumber cut than the forests of either Quebec, New Brunswick, or British Columbia. A still greater source of wealth is the gold, silver, and cobalt mines in the newer part of the province: Ontario's mineral production is greater than that of any other province. The waterways system of the Great Lakes, which bounds Ontario on

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

the south and south-west, has provided her with the necessary transportation; and the proximity of Niagara Falls has made possible the diffusion through the older settled part of the province of an almost inexhaustible supply of "white coal," or electric power, for manufacturing and lighting purposes.

The opening up of "New Ontario," the country lying between the Canadian Pacific Railway and Hudson Bay, has opened before the province an almost endless vista of future expansion. This country possesses great tracts of good clay

**The
Resources
of Ontario**

they have become almost obscured by later waves of immigration from the United States and from Great Britain, especially from Scotland. The backbone of settlement in many parts of the province is Scotch. In the cities, especially in Toronto, which is the capital of the province, there has congregated a large foreign element, which is presenting serious problems to social reformers. Of recent years, moreover, there has been a French-Canadian invasion of Ontario.

There are now in Ontario three distinct blocks of French-Canadian settlers.



THE WINTER SEASON IN CANADA: A CHARACTERISTIC SNOW SCENE

soil, excellent water-power, vast quantities of pulpwood, and possibly considerable mineral wealth. It is traversed by the new Grand Trunk Pacific Railway; the Ontario Government has constructed the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, to connect the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk Pacific; the recently annexed District of Patricia gives the province a seaboard of six hundred miles on Hudson Bay.

The population of Ontario is of mixed origin. The province was originally settled by the United Empire Loyalists; but these were so few in number that

In the west of the province, there are the descendants of the old French settlers near Detroit; in the east of the province, the French-Canadians from Quebec are little by little ousting the descendants of the Glengarry Highlanders from the lands which their forebears received as a

reward of their allegiance to the Empire; and in New Ontario, the French-Canadian lumberjacks and bushrangers have settled in considerable numbers. This peaceful invasion of the province has brought with it its problems. The French-Canadians are demanding that

**Increase
of French
Population**



THE TOWN OF RAT PORTAGE, ON THE LAKE OF THE WOODS, ONTARIO

French, as well as English, shall be the language of the schools; they are insisting that public documents, railway notices, telegraph blanks, and such things, shall be printed in the two languages. They have representatives in the Ontario legislature; and their numbers are increasing. Some of them confidently look forward to the time when Ontario shall be a French province.

Ontario has an admirable system of primary and secondary education, with separate schools for Roman Catholics; and it boasts no less than five universities. The University of Toronto, the provincial university, with an attendance of over 4,000, is one of the largest universities in the British Empire. Queen's University in Kingston is a privately supported and endowed institution, founded originally under the auspices of the Church of Scotland. Ottawa University is a Roman Catholic college; McMaster University, in Toronto, is Baptist; and the Western University in London is connected with a Church of England theological school. Many On-

tario students also attend McGill University, in Montreal, a privately endowed and supported institution, with an excellent record along scientific lines, but with an attendance smaller than that of the University of Toronto. Toronto, although it is only the second city in Canada in size, is the literary centre of the Dominion; here the chief Canadian publishing houses and periodicals are found, and the older part of Ontario is responsible for most of the publications which appear in Canada in English.

The Prairie Provinces — Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta — are almost wholly given over to agriculture. In

Alberta ranching is extensively pursued; but in Manitoba and Saskatchewan everything centres about the wheat crop. The great fertility of the soil has led to wasteful and unscientific methods of production, and there has been danger that the soil of the older parts of these provinces might become exhausted: but the establishment by the government of agricultural schools and model farms has done something to check this tendency.



AUTUMN PLOUGHING IN CARLTON COUNTY, NEW BRUNSWICK



MEDICINE HAT: A TOWN ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

All three provinces, especially Alberta, possess extensive coal-beds. There is, however, a lack of good water-power; and the growth of manufacturing industries has been thereby handicapped. The only considerable manufacturing centre in the prairies is Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba; and Winnipeg owes its growth mainly to its position as the *entrepot* of the West. So rapid has the growth of Winnipeg been that although in 1870 it was merely a Hudson's Bay trading-post, with a population of 215 souls, it is now the third city in the Dominion in size, with a population of a quarter of a million and with every prospect of growing larger.

The plane of life in the Prairie Provinces has naturally been hitherto somewhat materialistic. This has seemed especially true of Manitoba, the oldest of them, and the state of education in the province has received much criticism. There has been no compulsory attendance of children at the common schools; and although a University

of Manitoba has recently been created by the federation of a number of colleges previously established under theological auspices, it has been greatly hindered by the failure of the government adequately to support it.

The new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, fortunately, have followed sounder lines. Not only have they established satisfactory systems of primary and secondary education; but they have each founded, at the outset, a provincial university. The University of Saskatchewan is at Saskatoon, where a large tract of land has been set apart, and ambitious plans entered upon; the University of Alberta is at Edmonton, and a rival institution has been established at Calgary. All these institutions are yet in their infancy, and in some of them the arts take second place behind the study of science and agriculture; but they show a commendable desire in the people of these provinces to cultivate the things of the mind.

The need for education in the Prairie Provinces is pressing because of the



CANADIAN OATFIELD, SHOWING BY CONTRAST THE GREAT HEIGHT OF THE GRAIN

CANADA IN OUR OWN TIME

large foreign elements which they contain. Nearly every nation in Europe is represented on the prairies; and unfortunately many of these settlers have been allowed to settle in solid blocks. Some of them are very greedy for English education; the Icelanders, for instance, have sent many brilliant students through the colleges of the University of Manitoba. Others, such as the Russian Doukhobors, decline to have schools placed among them. In a somewhat different category are the Roman-Catholic French-Canadians and half-breeds scattered in considerable numbers

The Foreign Population in the West

spectacle of heavily timbered and mountainous country, interspersed with fruitful flat lands, and watered by rivers that plunge down to the sea through dangerous gorges. It is a country of almost limitless possibilities. Its fruit lands are as fertile as, and more extensive than, those of Nova Scotia or Ontario. Its forest wealth is as great as that of all the rest of Canada put together. Its rivers, which teem with the famous British Columbia salmon, supply nearly half of Canada's fishery production; and its salmon canneries give employment to thousands.

In the production of mineral wealth of a metallic nature, it stands second only to



LOADING TRUCKS WITH COAL IN THE MOUNTAINS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

through the West. These people, with their demand for separate treatment in the schools, have reproduced in the West some of the educational problems which have disturbed Eastern Canada. On the whole, the prospect for the rapid assimilation of the foreign elements in the West by means of education is not bright.

The province of British Columbia, lying on the Pacific slope, affords a striking contrast with the other Western provinces. Free from their bitter winters and stifling summers, it possesses a climate at once equable and mild. Instead of endless rolling prairies, it presents a

The Far Western Province

Ontario; and in coal resources it is without a rival. It is estimated that the Crow's Nest coal-beds would yield 10,000,000 tons a year for 7,000 years. Its rivers supply unlimited water-power; and already British Columbia is becoming a great manufacturing centre. Excellent harbours on the coast, chief among which is that of Vancouver, now the fourth city in size in the Dominion, give the products of the province access to the trade routes of the Pacific. With the completion of the Panama Canal it is fully expected that the shipping industry in British Colum-

Mineral Wealth of British Columbia

bia will greatly increase in importance, and indeed the whole relation of the province to the world's trade will change for the better.

These vast resources have as yet scarcely been tapped. Within the last ten years the population of the province has more than trebled; real estate leaped to unheard-of prices; and a boom period set in which discounted too heavily the future progress of the province. The result has been a temporary setback. But whatever fluctuations may occur in British Columbia's prosperity, no one who considers the wealth which is latent in the country can doubt that a great future lies before it.

One of the most serious problems in British Columbia at present is the question of Oriental immigration. Like many of the American states bordering on the Pacific, British Columbia has found herself overrun with Orientals. At present about one-eighth of the population is Oriental. This situation has created a two-fold difficulty: the Oriental has been able to underbid the white man in the labour market, and the occasional intermarriage of white and yellow has roused a storm of racial feeling throughout the country. British Columbia has therefore, by various means, attempted to exclude Oriental immigrants.

With the Chinese there has been no difficulty; but the Japanese, who are in alliance with the British Empire, and the people of India, who are British subjects equally with the people of British Columbia, have proved embarrassing to deal with. Fortunately an understanding has been reached with the Japanese government, which throughout the negotiations showed great moderation and good sense; but the exclusion of the Sikhs and Hindoos has created a problem which still awaits solution by the statesmen of the Empire.

The problem of education is also a pressing question in British Columbia. For some time the province has had a good school system; but hitherto the sons and daughters of British Columbia have been obliged to go to the East for higher education. At present, fortunately, a provincial university is in process of organisation; vast

tracts of land have been set apart for the endowment of the University, and the teaching staff is being carefully selected. In British Columbia, as in the Prairie Provinces, literature is still in its infancy; though it is worthy of note that the early days of the West have supplied material to a number of well-known Canadian novelists, notable among them being Sir Gilbert Parker, who first made his reputation with a collection of Western short stories entitled *Pierre and his People*, and Ralph Connor (the Rev. Charles W. Gordon), the author of *Black Rock* and the *Sky Pilot*.

Little need be said about the North-West Territory and the Yukon, which are still under the administration of the Dominion government, and are patrolled by the North-West Mounted Police. The North-West Territory is occupied only by a few thousand Indians and trappers; and the chief industry is still the fur-trade. A large part of it is what is known as the Barren Lands; but it is possible that part of it at least may yet prove suitable for colonisation. The experience in Canada has been that the edge of cultivation can always be pushed farther back than was at first thought possible.

The Yukon is almost wholly a mining district. The discovery of gold there in the dying years of the nineteenth century brought about a sort of tidal wave of immigration into the district; and in 1901 the population was over 25,000. But with the advent of more settled conditions, and the end of the prosperity period, the population declined; and to-day there are nearly 10,000 people fewer in the district than there were at the beginning of the century.

Geographically, Canada cannot be considered a unit. If national unity has been attained, it has come about in spite of, and not because of, the geographical characteristics of the country. The Maritime Provinces are cut off from Quebec by the salient formed by the north-eastern section of the state of Maine; Quebec and Ontario are cut off from the Prairie Provinces by the vast barren country lying north of Lake Superior; the Prairie Provinces are separated from British Columbia by the

Canadian
Unity
Difficult

Intellectual
Development
of the West

mighty ridge of the Rockies; and British Columbia is cut off from easy access to the Yukon Territory by the strip of shore-line belonging to Alaska. The country is broken up into four or five distinct geographical parts. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the problem of welding the country into a coherent whole has been a difficult one, or that differences have arisen between different provinces.

The province of Quebec, for instance, with a rapidly growing population not inadequate to its needs, has watched with concern the influx of English-speaking immigrants into the Prairie Provinces and into Ontario; and it has not been able to agree on the subject of naval defence with the province of British Columbia, which has a long defenceless coast-line on the Pacific. The agricultural West has run counter to the industrial East on the question of tariffs. The farmers of Saskatchewan and Alberta object to the high protection given at present by the tariff to the manufacturers of agricultural implements and kindred articles; and the manufacturers of the East have fought bitterly the attempt of the Western farmers to obtain reciprocity in trade with the United States.

The Western farmer is, in fact, by force of circumstances, something of a free-trader; the Eastern manufacturer is by force of circumstances a high protectionist. "The tariff," exclaimed one

of them in the elections of 1911, "should be made as high as Haman's gallows." In the apportionment of new territory to the provinces by the Dominion, there has been much jealousy, especially between Ontario and Manitoba, which long regarded itself as having been cheated of its just share of the old

Political and Economic Differences



SNOW-SHED ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
The protection of the line during the winter months is a matter of serious importance to the engineers of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Rockies. The scene of the above picture is particularly exposed to snowslides and avalanches; hence to meet this emergency snow-sheds are built, which carry the accumulation of snow and ice over the track.

Hudson's Bay territories. But these differences, and those like them, have presented no insuperable difficulties; and it may be questioned whether sectional jealousies have played as great a part in Canada as they have in other countries possessing wide and diverse territories. The Canadian Pacific and the Intercolonial Railways have done so much to bind the different sections of Canada together; the strong patriotism latent in a young and progressive country has proved superior to the spirit of provincialism; and secession from the Confederation was never less thinkable than it is to-day.

There are some aspects of the national life that call for comment. One of these is the relations existing between capital and labour. The labour organisations of Canada are closely connected with, and in some cases identical with, the labour organisations of the United States; and to some extent the same conditions prevail in the two countries. But the struggle between capital and labour is perhaps less acute in Canada

Encouraging Facts in Canadian Life

than it is in the United States. This is partly because there has as yet been little growth of monstrous private fortunes in Canada, exciting the envy and discontent of the workers; and it is partly the result also of the establishment by Sir Wilfrid Laurier of a Department of Labour in the Dominion government, with a responsible Minister at its head, and the passing by the Dominion Parliament of an Industrial Disputes Act.

By this Act no body of working men employed in any service considered to be of public importance, may strike, and no employers of such workmen may lock out their men, until the matter in dispute has been brought

The Industrial Disputes Act

before a Board of Conciliation and Investigation. Though the Board has no power to enforce its judgments, the mere publication and ventilation of the dispute has usually led to a settlement; and by means of the Act, Canada has been saved from a number of serious strikes. It is interesting to know that the man who was more than anyone else responsible for the framing of this Act, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Minister of Labour in the Laurier cabinet, is a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie, the rebel leader of '37.

The influx into Canada in recent years of a large foreign immigration has created a number of problems difficult of solution. The filling up

The Problem of Immigration

of the lower strata of society with a low-grade element which spawns like the fish of the sea, has raised the scale of living among the native-born Canadians, except perhaps in the province of Quebec, and has had something to do, in all probability, with the low birth rate of the better classes. Something has been done to remedy these conditions by the imposition of greater restrictions on immigration at the ports.

The immigration officials now have the power of turning back undesirables and paupers; and the type of the immigrants into Canada has been thereby somewhat improved. But there is still room for greater regulation of immigration. Many of the foreign immigrants, too, have settled in blocks, both in the

West, and in the larger cities; and the problem of turning these people into good citizens, with an intelligent appreciation of political rights and obligations in Canada, is placing a burden on the provincial systems of education which they are not able to meet. In the larger cities the congestion of the foreign element in downtown districts has created a slum problem which differs only in degree, and not in kind, from that found in the great cities of Europe.

Overcrowding, with its attendant evils of insanitary conditions and immorality, has already made its appearance. Fortunately, in dealing with these problems, the Canadian authorities have had the experience of the United

The Development of the Slum

States, which has passed through the same phases, to guide them. Rigid Board of Health regulations, together with deliberate campaigns of education in the municipalities, have already produced beneficial results. Admirable work has been done also by the churches and by private benevolences. Settlement work has been begun in the larger cities; and in the West the churches, through their home mission departments, have done much to supplement the work of the government officials in education, hospital work, and social amelioration. There are no more heroic pages in Canadian history than those which tell of the work of the Western missions.

A feature of Canadian life which strikes the attention, and sometimes rouses the indignation, of visitors to the Dominion is the strict enforcement by law for the observance of Sunday. The Lord's Day Act, passed by the Dominion Parliament during the Laurier régime, permits only the prosecution of business coming under the scriptural category of "works of mercy and necessity."

Sunday Legislation in Canada

The Act has perhaps laid Canada open to the charge of Sabbatarianism, and it has resulted in the suppression of some innocent amusements; but it has guaranteed the workers of Canada at least one day free in seven, and so has undoubtedly contributed to the welfare of the country.

The problem of the regulation or prohibition of the liquor traffic has long dis-

turbed Canadian politics. The question is in Canada peculiarly difficult of solution, since, although the Dominion Parliament possesses the power of prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors, only the provinces have the power of prohibiting their manufacture. As yet total prohibition of the sale and manufacture of spirituous liquors has obtained no decisive victory in any of the provinces. Ontario, in a plebiscite held in 1902, voted in favour of total prohibition; but the majority required was two-thirds of the total vote, and of this the "temperance" vote fell short by several hundreds.

The greatest progress in the direction of restriction of the sale of liquor has been gained along the line of local option. In 1878 the Scott Act, passed by the Dominion Parliament, gave the municipalities the right of prohibiting the sale of liquor within their confines; and the lead of the Dominion government in this regard has since been followed by nearly all the provinces. The number of liquor licenses issued is being constantly diminished; the hours of sale are being constantly restricted; abuse of the liquor licenses by sale to Indians, minors, and confirmed drunkards is being heavily punished; and much has been done to cure the former heavy drinking habits of the Canadian people.

The great difficulty with the liquor question in Canada has been its complication with politics. It has frequently been overshadowed by other issues; and advocates and opponents of liquor reform have often voted in opposition to their beliefs, for the purpose of "dishing the government." It has thus been difficult to get a clear pronouncement from the people on the question; and such a pronouncement will perhaps not be obtained until the question is removed entirely from the political arena.

An interesting feature of Canadian politics within recent years has been the growth of government by commission.

Under the Laurier administration, for instance, a Dominion Railway Commission was appointed, with power of regulating the rate of railway, tele-

phone, and express companies. This Commission has done a great deal to keep freight charges within reasonable limits; and up to the present it has proved in no way unjust to the companies themselves, which have worked in cordial co-operation with it. Some of the provinces also have adopted a similar arrangement: Ontario has a Railway Board, and Quebec has set up a Public Utilities Commission.

In 1908 a considerable reform was effected in Dominion politics by the erection of a Civil Service Commission. One of the greatest curses of Canadian public life has been the traditional acceptance of the "spoils system" in appointments to governmental employ.

For many years appointments to the civil service were almost solely the reward of political services. "It has been the custom of the administration ever since I entered public life," candidly explained one of the Fathers of the Confederation, "to give what they had to their supporters, and if they had anything left after that, to give it to their opponents." The Act which set up the Commission did not go so far as to copy the practice of Great Britain, where practically all the posts of the civil service are awarded as the result of competitive examinations; but it gave the Commission the power of making appointments to a large number of inferior posts in the government service, as the result of examination, and so has produced a decided improvement not only in the civil service itself, but also in Canadian political morality. The "spoils system" has not entirely disappeared from Canadian public life; but its operations have been much curtailed.

A third commission which has been appointed, and which has done good work, is the Dominion Commission of Conservation, with Sir Clifford Sifton, the former Minister of the Interior in the Laurier government, at its head. On it the Dominion government, the provincial governments, and the Universities, are all represented. For many years before the appointment of this Commission, Canadians had been wasting their great natural resources at a shocking rate. The most fertile soil was being

exhausted by unscientific methods of agriculture; the superb fisheries of the country were being depleted by the use of trap-nets and the failure to observe the period when the fish were spawning; the forests were being swept away by forest fires that swept unchecked over vast tracts of country, and by careless lumbering; and the most valuable water-powers were being allowed to go to waste.

Canada was treating her natural resources as she had treated the buffalo; she was running through them without a thought for future generations. The Conservation Commission has put a stop to all that. Its work has been mainly along the lines of education and suggestion; but already the results of its work are apparent. The practice of scientific methods of farming; the restocking of waters depleted of fish; the application of careful forestry methods in the timber reserves; and the harnessing of the water-powers of the country—all these things have resulted in part from the Commission's efforts. Last, but not least, it has done much in making known to Canadians, and to other countries Canada's vast resources.

Until a few years ago, Canada was reckoned, and actually was, a relatively poor country. The great need of the country was capital and population.

Both English and American capitalists fought shy of Canada, and preferred to invest their money in the states of South and Central America. The overwhelming majority of European emigrants flocked into the United States;

and instead of emigration from the United States to Canada, hundreds of thousands of Canadians left Canada for the United States. There are probably even to-day three million people of Canadian origin in the United States. But within recent years the situation has suffered a sea-change. English and American capital has flowed into Canada, in perhaps too trusting and indiscriminate a manner; and hundreds of thousands of immigrants, both from Europe and from the United States, have flocked into the vast area of the Dominion.

At one time, the movement of population from some parts of the American West northward across the border threatened to take on the aspect of an

The Future of Canada exodus. This movement caused some anxiety both in the United States and in Canada;

but so far as Canada is concerned, it should be said that its new American settlers are among the best which it has received. They are familiar with the conditions of life in a new country; they usually bring some capital with them; and they have proved to be as good citizens as any in the land. As a result of this influx of capital and population, Canada has entered upon a new era. There may have been some pardonable braggadocio in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's boast that "the nineteenth century was the century of the United States, but the twentieth century will be the century of Canada;" yet no one who knows Canada well can fail to realise that a wide gulf separates Canada of the twentieth century from Canada of the nineteenth.



QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, SHOWING MEMORIAL TO GENERAL BROCK

CANADA PAST AND PRESENT

SCENES IN THE CHIEF TOWNS OF THE DOMINION



Valentine

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY, LOOKING FROM VICTORIA TOWER



PANORAMA OF THE CITY AND RIVER FROM PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

OTTAWA, THE CAPITAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA



MASSES OF FLOATING LUMBER IN THE OTTAWA RIVER



OTTAWA'S FLOURISHING AGRICULTURAL MARKET
SCENES OF TO-DAY IN CANADA'S CAPITAL CITY

Valentine



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HALIFAX, SHOWING ITS FINE HARBOUR

Valentine



HALIFAX IN 1849, WHEN IT WAS JUST A HUNDRED YEARS OLD



GENERAL ASPECT OF THE HARBOUR FROM THE CITADEL
CITY AND SEAPORT OF HALIFAX, THE CAPITAL OF NOVA SCOTIA



THE CITY AS IT LOOKED SEVENTY YEARS' AGO



A VIEW TAKEN FROM MOUNT ROYAL IN 1840

THE MARVELLOUS GROWTH OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL



GENERAL VIEW OF MONTREAL, WITH THE ST. LAWRENCE IN THE BACKGROUND



MONTREAL'S PRINCIPAL THOROUGHFARE. SHOWING G. P. O. AND BANK



GENERAL VIEW OF MONTREAL'S EXTENSIVE HARBOUR
MONTREAL TO-DAY: THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE DOMINION

Valentine



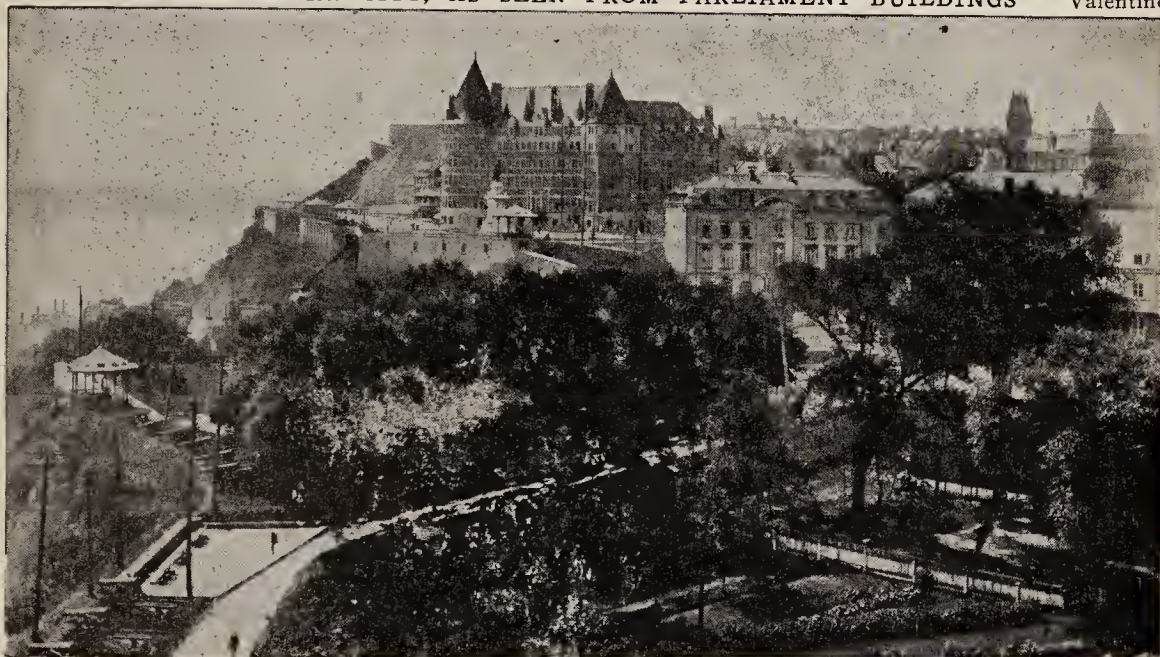
BRITISH MEN-OF-WAR AT QUEBEC IN 1840



THE WORLD-FAMOUS VIEW FROM THE CITADEL IN 1840
QUEBEC AT THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN



THE MODERN CITY, AS SEEN FROM PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS Valentine



THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC AND PART OF THE LOWER TOWN C. P. R.



QUEBEC'S WAREHOUSES AND WHARVES, WITH CITADEL TO EXTREME LEFT
QUEBEC TO-DAY: THE SEVENTH LARGEST CITY IN CANADA



QUEEN'S AVENUE, FROM PARLIAMENT BRIDGE



A PICTURESQUE VIEW OF THE CITY IN 1840



YONGE STREET. ONE OF THE CITY'S CHIEF THOROUGHFARES
TORONTO, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF ONTARIO



VANCOUVER'S SPACIOUS HARBOUR AND WHARVES



THE COMMODIOUS DOCK OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY



THE CITY AS SEEN FROM THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY HOTEL
VANCOUVER, THE PROSPEROUS METROPOLIS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



TOWN AND RIVER AS THEY WERE IN 1840



THE HARBOUR FRONT AS IT IS TO-DAY
ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK: PAST AND PRESENT



REVERSIBLE FALLS, SHOWING TIDE RUNNING DOWN THE ST. JOHN RIVER



THE WEST END, THE FAVOURITE RESIDENTIAL QUARTER
SCENES OF TO-DAY IN THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF ST. JOHN

Valentine



THE VILLAGE OF WINNIPEG ABOUT 1870



THE UNION BANK OF CANADA AND THE CITY HALL, WINNIPEG Valentine
WINNIPEG AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS TO-DAY



NEWFOUNDLAND, THE OLDEST BRITISH COLONY

THE ISLAND THAT KEEPS THE GATEWAY TO THE ST. LAWRENCE

THE history of Newfoundland dates from its discovery by John Cabot in 1497, though nearly a hundred years passed before an effort was made to occupy the island. The first serious attempt at occupation was made by the English, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert landed at St. John's in 1583, and took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, but as he was lost on his homeward journey, nothing further was done at that time. In 1610, John Guy, sometime Mayor of Bristol, obtained a patent from James I., which permitted him to plant a colony in Newfoundland, but his efforts were frustrated by pirates. Not until 1623 was the first permanent settlement effected by Sir George Calvert, afterward Lord Baltimore, whose name is so closely associated with the history of Maryland.

Sir George Calvert obtained from James I. a proprietary grant covering the whole of the southern peninsula. He brought out a colony which he settled at Verulam, now called Ferryland, and here he built a house in which he lived for several years. Meanwhile, however (in 1620), the French had established a port on Placentia Bay, and from this point of vantage they so harassed the struggling colony that it was at length abandoned by the proprietor for his more attractive possessions further south. Some of the colonists remained, however, and in 1638 Sir David Kirke was sent out as governor, and resided at Ferryland until his death in 1665.

The French continued to make territorial claims, and in 1660 Placentia was formally ceded to them. From this place, which they fortified strongly, they overran most of the island, and it was not until 1713 that, by the Treaty of Utrecht, they abandoned their claims to territory and gave up Placentia. The treaty, however, gave them concurrent fishing rights with England on the western shore, on which it forbade either nation to make permanent settlement, and thus laid the foundation for later troubles.

On his return from his first voyage Cabot brought home glowing accounts of the fish to be obtained in the waters through which he had sailed, and soon the island seas, and especially the "great banks" off the eastern coast, had become the seat of the finest deep sea fishery in the world. As early as 1500, French, Basque and English vessels had commenced to make yearly voyages for the cod fishing. Soon the English fishermen took the lead, although at first their numbers were smaller than those of either Normans or Bretons. In 1580 they owned a fourth of the fleet of 400 ships which sailed to the coasts of the island, and already it was said that Englishmen were "commonly lords of the harbours." In 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh said that the "New Land Fishery" was "the mainstay and support of the Western Counties," and that a misfortune to the Newfoundland fleet would be the greatest

calamity which could befall England. By 1600 Englishmen had outnumbered all rivals, and in that year their harvest is said to have been worth a sum of £500,000. Such is the early history of this great fishery, at once a source of wealth to those engaged in it, and the cause of the slow development of the colony.

The English fishery was conducted by west of England merchants and ship-owners, "venturers" as they were called, who organised and provided capital for annual voyages, which were in the nature of overseas adventures. The fleets set out in the early summer, and did not return until the approach of winter. The crews in the meantime landed their catches to be cured at suitable points on the shores of the island, where rough, temporary landing stages and shelters were set up. Gradually these adventurers obtained virtual control of the island, and as it was to their advantage to treat it as a fishing station the government was induced to pass laws forbidding permanent settlement.

The chief argument, brought forward in support of this shortsighted policy, was the undoubted fact that, as a fishing station, the island also made an admirable nursery for seamen for the British navy. No man was allowed to winter on the island, to build for himself a permanent habitation, or to bring his family there. Every shipmaster was under heavy penalty to bring back in the fall every man whom he took out with him in the spring. It was illegal to build or repair a house without special license. Permanent settlement was forbidden within six miles of the shore. As no roads were built until 1825 this order was designed to make settlement impossible. Finally there was no justice except that dispensed by the "fishing admirals," that is the captains of the first, second and third ves-

sels of the season to arrive in a harbour. The early favourable reports of the natural resources of the island were forgotten, and the idea that it comprised only a rocky, inhospitable shore and a cold and barren interior was sedulously cultivated.

In spite of all drawbacks, however, settlements were made, and in 1728 a governor was appointed. In 1763 the Atlantic coast line of Labrador was added to the colony and is still attached to it.

During the War of 1812, the islanders had a monopoly of the fishing, which brought the colony some prosperity, as it was able to control the fish markets of the world. From this dates its firm establishment, and the population, which in 1763 numbered only 8,000, settled chiefly around the town of St. John's, had by 1815 increased to 80,000. It was not, however, until 1832 that a representative government was set up, with the usual rights over supply, but without control of the executive.

In 1855 the colony was granted its present form of responsible government. It consists of a House of Assembly, with thirty-six members, elected every four years; an Upper

House, with a membership not exceeding twenty-one, in which vacancies are filled by the Ministry; an Executive Council or Ministry numbering nine, chosen by the party in power, and a Governor, appointed by the Crown for a term of six years.

In 1864, when the plan for the confederation of the Dominion of Canada was suggested, Newfoundland was invited to join, and delegates were sent to the conference at Quebec, but the general opinion throughout the island was against the adoption of the plan. Other attempts were made to induce the colony to enter the Confederation, but without result. In 1895, however, after a bad fishing season,



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

In 1583, Gilbert set out from Plymouth harbour to take possession of Newfoundland. On his return journey three out of his five vessels foundered off Cape Breton, himself going down in the fourth, on September 9th, 1583.



BURIN HARBOUR, REPUTED TO BE THE BEST IN NEWFOUNDLAND



A VIEW OF PLACENTIA, THE OLD FRENCH CAPITAL



QUIDI-VIDI, A PICTURESQUE SETTLEMENT NEAR ST. JOHN'S
TOWNS AND HARBOURS OF NEWFOUNDLAND

followed by financial disaster, overtures were made to the Dominion government, but an agreement concerning the debt could not be reached, and the project fell through. At that time the Canadian banking system was introduced by opening branches of three Canadian banks.

The foreign relations of Newfoundland have been disturbed by the vexed questions of the fisheries. Endless quarrels arose out of the rights given to France

of the Newfoundlanders, and as a consequence their prosperity has been much increased. The island has valuable iron and copper deposits which are now being worked. The output of iron in 1911 was valued at \$1,318,992 and of copper at \$231,693. Deposits of coal have been found, though coal mining has as yet been scarcely developed, and there are valuable deposits of marble. The quarrying of slate is a thriving industry.



BAY OF ISLANDS ON THE WEST COAST OF NEWFOUNDLAND

by the Treaties of Utrecht, Paris and Versailles, and to the United States by the Treaty of Ghent. Dissensions with the French fishermen, which at times caused serious diplomatic difficulties, continued down to the year 1904, when the British government ceded to France certain African territory in return for the rights which up to that time she had retained in the southwestern Newfoundland shore. The French claims to money compensation were settled by arbitration. This troublesome question was disposed of, and the Newfoundlanders were established in their rights to their own shores. France, however, still retains the little Miquelon Archipelago, which was granted to her by the Treaty of Paris (1763). A few years later (in 1910), the question of the American rights was submitted to The Hague tribunal, and was satisfactorily adjusted by that body.

In recent years, other industries than fishing have begun to claim the attention

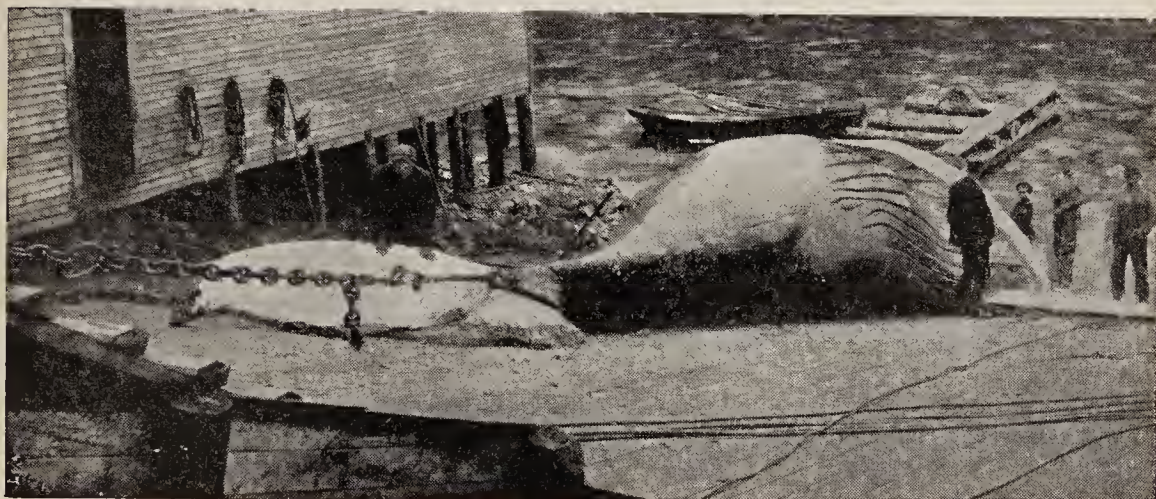
Up to recent times agriculture was almost neglected, as it was supposed that the land was too rocky and barren to repay cultivation. This has been proved, by the geological survey begun in 1838, to be untrue. A portion of the area is fertile and capable of supporting a considerable farming population. The interior is well wooded, and the pulp-making industry has reached important proportions.

The islanders are a hardy, brave and intelligent people, descended from English, Scotch and Irish settlers. They are law-abiding, moral and temperate, and serious crime is almost entirely absent. The population numbers about quarter of a million, of which about 97 per cent are native born. The colony is well supplied with steamship, railroad and telegraph facilities, and as it is the landing-place of most of the Atlantic cables it has abundant means of communication with the outside world.

M. A. BUCKLEY.



THE METHOD OF DRYING FISH AT LITTLE BAY ISLAND



LANDING A HUGE "HUMP-BACKED" WHALE FOR USE IN THE OIL INDUSTRY



A BUSY TIMBER MILL AT BONNE BAY
THE FISHING AND LUMBER INDUSTRIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND



"THE NARROWS," FROM CHURCH HILL, SHOWING BRITISH WARSHIPS



ICE IN THE ENTRANCE TO ST. JOHN'S HARBOUR



THE LAND-LOCKED HARBOUR AND TOWN OF ST. JOHN'S
SCENES IN AND NEAR THE CAPITAL OF NEWFOUNDLAND



GENERAL VIEW OF ST. GEORGE, THE CAPITAL OF GRENADA

THE WEST INDIES

THE ISLANDS WHERE THE SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA BEGAN

PROBABLY no section of the world's surface has given so much material to writers of picturesque romances and stories of adventure as the West Indies. Nor is it strange that these tropical islands and their surrounding seas should be intimately associated in our minds with Spanish treasure hunters, corsairs, buccaneers and bloody sea fights, for here history itself is one continuous tale of stirring adventure.

**The Romance
of the
West Indies**

Before Columbus' time there were legends of enchanted islands far out in the Atlantic that disappeared from view even as adventurous mariners were preparing to land on their shores. In the very year that Columbus reported his first discoveries (1493), Peter Martyr d'Anghiera spoke of these islands as the Antilles, and that name has been applied to a part of the West Indies ever since.

The Greater Antilles are the four larger islands stretching more than 1300 miles eastward from the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, and forming the northern shores of the Caribbean Sea; Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti and Porto Rico. Curving outward and downward from Porto Rico, until it almost touches the coast of South America, is a chain of smaller islands, forming the eastern barrier of the Caribbean; these are the Lesser Antilles.

**The Greater
and the
Lesser Antilles**

Then to the northeast of Cuba, forming a sort of outer fringe to the upper part of the Greater Antilles, there is a smaller chain of islands, the upper end of which almost touches Florida. These are the Bahamas, not included in the Antilles.

The total area of all these islands is nearly 100,000 square miles, of which Cuba constitutes nearly half. Haiti, something more than half the size of Cuba, is the next in size, while Jamaica, about a tenth as large as Cuba, ranks third. Porto Rico is smaller than Jamaica. Trinidad, another of the larger islands, lies at the lower end of the Lesser Antilles, so close to the South American coast that by many it is considered a part of that continent.

Watling Island, in about the centre of the outer edge of the Bahamas, is of special interest, because here it was long supposed that Columbus

**Where
Columbus
First Landed**

first trod on American soil, though some historians think that Cat Island to the northwest is the island which the natives called Guanahani and Columbus San Salvador. To his dying day he was ignorant of the fact that he had discovered a new country; on his mistaken belief that he had simply reached India by a shorter route rests the name of this entire region.

Of the original "Indians" whom the

first explorers found on the islands only a few survive, and they are down on the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent in the Lesser Antilles. There seem to have been two distinct tribes, differing in physical appearance and especially in temperament. The first of these were the Arawaks, who inhabited the Bahamas and the Greater Antilles. Even the Spaniards, who quickly exterminated them by massacre and slavery, describe them as gentle and peaceful, living on the corn, cassava, sweet potatoes and yams which they cultivated, and on the fish which they caught from their dugout canoes. Aside from this they raised tobacco, which they taught the Spaniards to smoke; cotton, which they wove into simple fabrics, and they made crude pottery and carved implements of wood and fashioned various utensils of stone.

In the Lesser Antilles the Indians were of a very different disposition. These, called Caribs, are supposed to have invaded the islands not long before the arrival of Columbus. They drove the more gentle Arawaks before them until, when the Spaniards arrived, they had advanced as far as Porto Rico. They were stronger of build and lighter of colour than the Arawaks. As there were no animals in any of the islands larger than wild hogs, the Caribs were also compelled to cultivate corn and cassava, but in time of war at least they were cannibals.

The first Spaniards, who accompanied Columbus on his later expeditions or went with the leaders who followed him, were essentially fortune hunters. They

did not want to cultivate the soil; they did not even want to dig the gold which they hoped to bring back to Spain in such vast quantities. Work of any kind was distasteful and their purpose was to force the natives to dig gold for them. For this reason the first Spanish settlements, really nothing more than military camps, were planted on the shores of Cuba, Haiti and Porto Rico, those big islands in whose mountains some gold was found. The comparatively low and sandy islands of the Bahamas, though first discovered, were neglected and left to later colonists of other nationalities. For the same rea-

sons the Lesser Antilles were never settled by the Spaniards, though they claimed them as their territory as long as they could.

But even the peaceful Arawaks were not the stuff of which slaves are made. When they resisted the efforts of the Spaniards to force them to work in the mines they were butchered wholesale. Those that were captured died soon after. In less than a hundred years after the first appearance of the Spaniards there were only sixty families of natives in Cuba, and the neighbouring islands had been proportionately depopulated. By this time it had been realised that gold was not so plentiful in the Antilles. The treasure hunters went further; Cortez to Mexico, to rob the Aztecs, others sailed to the Spanish Main, as the South American coast, from the mouth of the Orinoco to Darien, was called, in search of the legendary kingdom of gold which they named El Dorado.

The Spaniards who remained behind gradually realised that planting was more profitable than mining. Sugar, which was an expensive luxury in Spain, could be produced from the fertile soil of Cuba, Haiti and Porto Rico at a large profit.

A demand for tobacco was also growing at home and cotton brought better prices than wool. This was the beginning of the rich trade that sprang up between Spain and the West Indies, spreading gradually to the other possessions on the main land as well. The development of the plantations created a demand for labour. The Indians had been shown unsuited for this purpose. So in 1517 the Spanish Government passed an edict which permitted the importation of four thousand negro slaves annually into the West Indian colonies.

The Portuguese, who claimed the west coast of Africa, were the first to supply this demand, but as the slave trade grew the roving traders of France, England and the Netherlands took a hand in it as well. How extensive this traffic became is evidenced by the present population in the West Indies; in the British islands, where the whites never settled so extensively, the bulk of the population is black and in the Spanish islands blacks

**Negro
Slavery is
Introduced**

THE WEST INDIES

form a large percentage. Haiti and the Dominican Republic have only a small proportion of whites.

Naturally Spain attempted to maintain exclusive control over all the West Indies and to monopolise the rich trade between there and the home country. But the ships of France, England and the Netherlands were in search of new markets. They ventured to the Spanish islands at first in the hope of picking up

the Spanish settlements on the Isthmus, though there was no war between England and Spain at the time. By this time, toward the beginning of the seventeenth century and after the destruction of the Spanish Armada by the English, Spain began to decline in vigour. As yet she had not planted any settlements in the Bahamas and the Lesser Antilles. Soon the other powers began to question the right of possession



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AT NASSAU, BAHAMAS

new traffic. Being excluded by Spanish authority they began developing a contraband trade, especially in slaves. From slave trading to other lawless and more violent enterprises was a natural step. Next these merchant adventurers began arming their ships and fell to plundering the settlements or to lying in wait for the treasure galleons of Spain and capturing them.

✓ One of the most prominent of these sea rovers was Sir John Hawkins, who made three trips, between 1562 and 1567, from the African Coast with slaves to Hispaniola, as Haiti was then called. On his third trip the Spaniards destroyed four of his five ships. At that time he had with him Francis Drake, then a mere boy. Five years later Drake went forth in command of a venture of his own and raided

which did not rest on actual occupation. And after the death of Philip II and the conclusion of peace with England, Spain tacitly acknowledged this theory, remaining content with holding what she actually had; Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico and Jamaica.

It is to be noted that the English, the Dutch and the French took their first steps toward effective occupation of the Lesser Antilles within the same decade. The Dutch West India Company was incorporated in 1621, the French in 1626 and the first English patents which led to plantations in this region fell between 1623 and 1627. The difference which characterises the activities of the four chief European powers concerned in the colonisation of the West Indies deserves attention.

The prime object of Spain was to

Other Nations
Demand
a Share

exploit the mineral wealth of her American possessions; settlement was wholly subordinate to this end. The French went to the West Indies as settlers and traders, working through a royal chartered company, under strict regula-

**Planting,
Trading and
Fighting**

tion and with effective protection from the home government. The original purpose of the Dutch was to harry and cripple their ancient enemy, Spain, by cutting off the sources of her national wealth. But they became rather the traders of the islands and, having no surplus population at home for purposes of colonisation, were content to gather in the riches won from carrying

the produce of their neighbours. English sovereignty in the West Indies,

which was to become permanent, was based on settlement, conducted by somewhat haphazard methods of private or corporate ventures. In matters of defense the planters were largely left to themselves. They set up their own institutions, borrowed the slave system

from Spain, sent out expeditions to hoist the British flag on unclaimed islands and joined in raids against the ports and treasure fleets of the Spaniards.

The first English settlement in the West Indies was made in 1624 by Sir Thomas Warner, at the head of a number of adventurers who had formed part of Walter Raleigh's "Company of Noblemen and Gen-

tleman of England," which had previously attempted settlement in Guiana, on



THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS AT PORTO RICO



A VIEW LOOKING EAST FROM HAMILTON, THE CHIEF TOWN OF THE BERMUDAS



GENERAL VIEW OF KINGSTON, THE CAPITAL OF JAMAICA



STREET TRAVELLING IN KINGSTON BEFORE THE EARTHQUAKE



THE CITY AS VIEWED FROM THE SEA
KINGSTON, THE PRINCIPAL COMMERCIAL TOWN OF JAMAICA



A STREET IN TRINIDAD, SHOWING THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

the South American continent. They first took possession of the island of St. Christopher, more familiarly known as St. Kitt's. The Caribs gave them a hard fight; to overcome this opposition they formed a partnership with a French corsair by the name of Esnambuc as a result of which part of the island was given over to the French. In 1635 the Dutch made a settlement on St. Eustatius and in 1648 French colonists landed on St. Bartholomew.

The fierce Caribs, however, who inhabited the Lesser Antilles were by no means passive during these attempts to deprive them of their lands. When a company of French adventurers landed on Guadeloupe in 1635 the natives succeeded in driving them back to their ships. Four chartered companies were ruined in their efforts to colonise this island. In 1627 the English attempted to land on Dominica and were beaten off by the Caribs, who remained undisturbed for nearly a century afterwards. In Martinique, where the French had raised their flag in 1635, it was thirty years before the resistance of the natives was overcome.

Finally the remnant of the Caribs, realising that they must eventually be overcome, made an agreement with the whites whereby the two islands of St.

Vincent and Dominica were to be their undisturbed possession as a reservation. Later many went to an island off the coast of Honduras. There, in Honduras and St. Vincent, the surviving remnant of the fighting race of Caribs may be found to this day.

For nearly two hundred years after these first settlements the possession of these various islands kept continually changing from hand to hand, for during this long period there was hardly a year in which at least two of the possessing powers were not at war with each other. The most notable conquest, which was permanent, was the taking of Jamaica by an English fleet under Admiral Penn, the father of William Penn, in 1655.

Aside from the four nations represented, however, there entered a fifth element into the fighting which has given to this period of West Indian history a peculiar picturesqueness of its own. During all this time the Spanish settlements in Haiti had been confined to the eastern part of the island, around Santo Domingo, while the western part was left to scattered remnants of natives who lived by hunting wild cattle and hogs. Here the roving traders and corsairs would put in for supplies of meat, preserved by a smoking process which the French called "bou-

**The Islands
Pass from
Hand to Hand**

**The Caribs
Fight the
Invaders**



GOVERNMENT HOUSE: THE ADMINISTRATOR'S RESIDENCE, ST. CHRISTOPHER

caner," making a verb of a native word.

Adventurers and vagabond sailors of all nationalities, though principally French and English, gradually settled here among the natives and took up this business of smoking meat, which proved quite profitable. Finally, after being joined by some French refugees who had been driven off the island of St. Christopher by a Spanish raid, they built a rude settlement on Tortuga, a small island off the north-western coast of Haiti. This became a centre of supply to the rovers and smugglers, by whom the meat driers became known as "boucaniers," or, as the English called them, buccaneers.

In 1638 the Spaniards raided Tortuga

while the buccaneers were hunting over on the larger island. When the hunters, numbering about three hundred, returned to their settlement they found their huts and their smoking plants in ashes. Whereupon they determined that henceforth they would devote themselves entirely to plundering the Spaniards. In a short time, what by building, buying and capturing, they got together a considerable fleet of vessels and made marine marauding their principal business. Thus Spain roused against herself one of the principal enemies she had to contend with in the West Indies; the buccaneers or, as they called themselves, the "Brethren of the Coast."

It was indirectly due to the buccaneers that Spain lost another of the four big



A STREET SCENE IN ST. JOHN, THE CAPITAL OF ANTIGUA

islands on which her colonists actually settled. After being driven off Tortuga the "boucaniers" retired to the western end of the mainland of Haiti where those who did not take so active a part in the raids were joined by other Frenchmen. These settlers laid out plantations, imported slaves and prospered. Before the Spaniards were fully aware of the danger these colonists had built a fort at the head of the bay which sheltered them and called it Port-au-Prince. Eventually, after a war between Spain and France, which terminated in 1697, Spain ceded this end of the island to France.

Ninety years later, on the eve of the French Revolution, this French colony had twice the population of the Spanish colony, and possessed more than twice its wealth and foreign trade. Of its population of half a million, however, only about 40,000 were whites; the rest were blacks, of which less than 30,000 were free. The majority were slaves on the plantations. Then came the Great Revolution in the mother country declaring all men equal. The white planters accepted the new régime but they refused to apply its principle of equality to the black slaves. Even the free negroes were excluded from citizenship. The result was an insurrection of the negroes, led by a young mulatto who had been educated in Paris. This so alarmed the French Government, especially as the English and Spanish forces were making a successful attack on the colony, that universal emancipation was declared in 1793. This brought all the negro insurgents over to the side of the French Republic.

At their head was now perhaps the most remarkable man the negro race has ever produced, Toussaint L'Ouverture. He was a full-blooded black, born a slave, but with a genius for military command.

The French, recognising his great ability, made him commander-in-chief of the native forces and he drove out the English and Spanish troops. In 1795 France and Spain concluded a treaty whereby the Spanish colony on the eastern end of the island was ceded to the French, and Toussaint L'Ouverture became Governor-General and practically

dictator. In 1801 he proclaimed the absolute independence of Haiti, with himself as supreme chief. Napoleon, who was then in power, sent out an army of 30,000 men and a long war followed. Yellow fever came to the aid of the struggling blacks. The French general asked for a conference, which Toussaint L'Ouverture granted and attended in person. Here he was treacherously seized and carried over a prisoner to France, where he died in prison of starvation.

Meanwhile the insurrection of the blacks continued and finally the French forces were penned in and forced to surrender and so France lost the greatest of her West Indian colonies.

The Haitians declared their independence in 1804 and a negro, General Dessalines, was proclaimed president for life. Presently he declared himself emperor with the title of Jacques I, but he proved to be such a brute that two years later his own soldiers assassinated him. Until 1844, save for a brief period during which Spain regained her colony at Santo Domingo, losing it again in 1821, the whole island continued under one government as the Republic of Haiti. Then there was a split, the old Spanish colony becoming the Dominican Republic.

The Dominican Republic has nearly double the area of the Haitian Republic, but has only about 700,000 population.

Of this about one tenth is pure white, of Spanish descent, while the rest is composed mostly of coloured people, as mulattoes are called throughout the West Indies. The pure blacks are very few in number in Santo Domingo. Altogether these people are more progressive than the Haitians and as a consequence the government has been more stable. The legislative body, according to the revised constitution of 1908, consists of a national congress of twelve senators and twenty-four deputies. Each senator represents a province while the deputies are elected in proportion to population. Further governmental reforms are contemplated, which will widen the suffrage. It is also intended to abolish the death penalty. American and English capital has been encouraged. There are a university, two colleges and many schools. The exports

**The Negro
Revolt in
Santo Domingo**

**The Negro
Republics
Established**

**The
Dominican
Republic**



STABROEK MARKET AND THE STELLINGS AT GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA

are chiefly sugar, coffee, cacao, mahogany, hides and honey, of which about half goes to the United States.

The history of the Haitian Republic has been extremely turbulent. Almost every ruler, whether "emperor" or president, has met a violent death. Insurrections have been more numerous than in any South American republic. Finally the situation became so impossible that the United States Government was compelled to intervene and its military forces are now, at the present writing, in temporary occupation. On July 27, 1915, General Oscar, Governor of Port-au-Prince, ordered the execution of 160 political prisoners, suspected of being in sympathy with the revolutionists then in the field. Among the victims was General Orestes Zamor, formerly President of the Republic.

This act of wholesale slaughter so

enraged the populace that a mob attacked the presidential palace, whereupon General Oscar took refuge in the Dominican legation and the President, General Vilbrun Guillaume, fled to the French legation. The mob followed them and, in spite of the protests of the Dominican and French diplomatic representatives, President Guillaume and Governor Oscar were dragged out into the streets and shot to death. Next day marines were landed from the American cruiser *Washington* and, after a skirmish with the native troops, in which two blue-jackets were killed, the fortress overlooking the city and the presidential palace were occupied by the American forces.

The United States Interferes In a few days order was restored and two weeks later General Dartiguenave was elected President by the national assembly, which had been called into session under the supervision of the



GENERAL VIEW OF SAN DOMINGO, THE BURIAL PLACE OF COLUMBUS

American admiral in command of the forces in occupation.

The State Department at Washington now proposes a protectorate for ten years, which shall include American control of the customs receipts, administration of the national finances and a municipal and rural police under the command of American officers.

The population of Haiti is somewhere between 1,500,000 and 2,500,000, of which about ninety per cent is pure black, the rest being coloured. The few whites are mostly foreigners as the French planters were expelled shortly after the declaration of independence. The exports are cotton, coffee, cacao, mahogany, tortoise shell, zinc and copper, but the resources of the country are practically undeveloped. So strong is the prejudice against foreigners that they are not allowed to hold real property.

After the capture of Jamaica by the English and the loss of their colony at Santo Domingo the Spaniards retained only Porto Rico and Cuba.

Spain in Porto Rico Like Jamaica, Porto Rico was much neglected; all through the seventeenth and far into the eighteenth century the beauty and riches of the island were left to flourish in lonely desolation. In 1700 there were only three villages in the island and in 1765 there were only 45,000 inhabitants. At last Spain began to wake up to the value of this rich possession. Andalusian peasants were sent out as real colonists and negro slaves were imported.

Though there were revolutionary agitations among the people no actual uprisings took place, for two reasons. First, the loyal Spaniards from the affected colonies on the mainland came here as refugees, which inclined the government toward being more lenient. Second, the island was so small that operations by revolutionary bands would have been practically impossible. In 1869 the Spanish Cortes granted a constitution to Porto Rico, which made it a province of Spain instead of a colonial dependency and gave it representation in the Cortes. The way in which the United States gained possession of this island is told in another chapter.

The history of Cuba is by far the stormiest of all Spanish West Indian

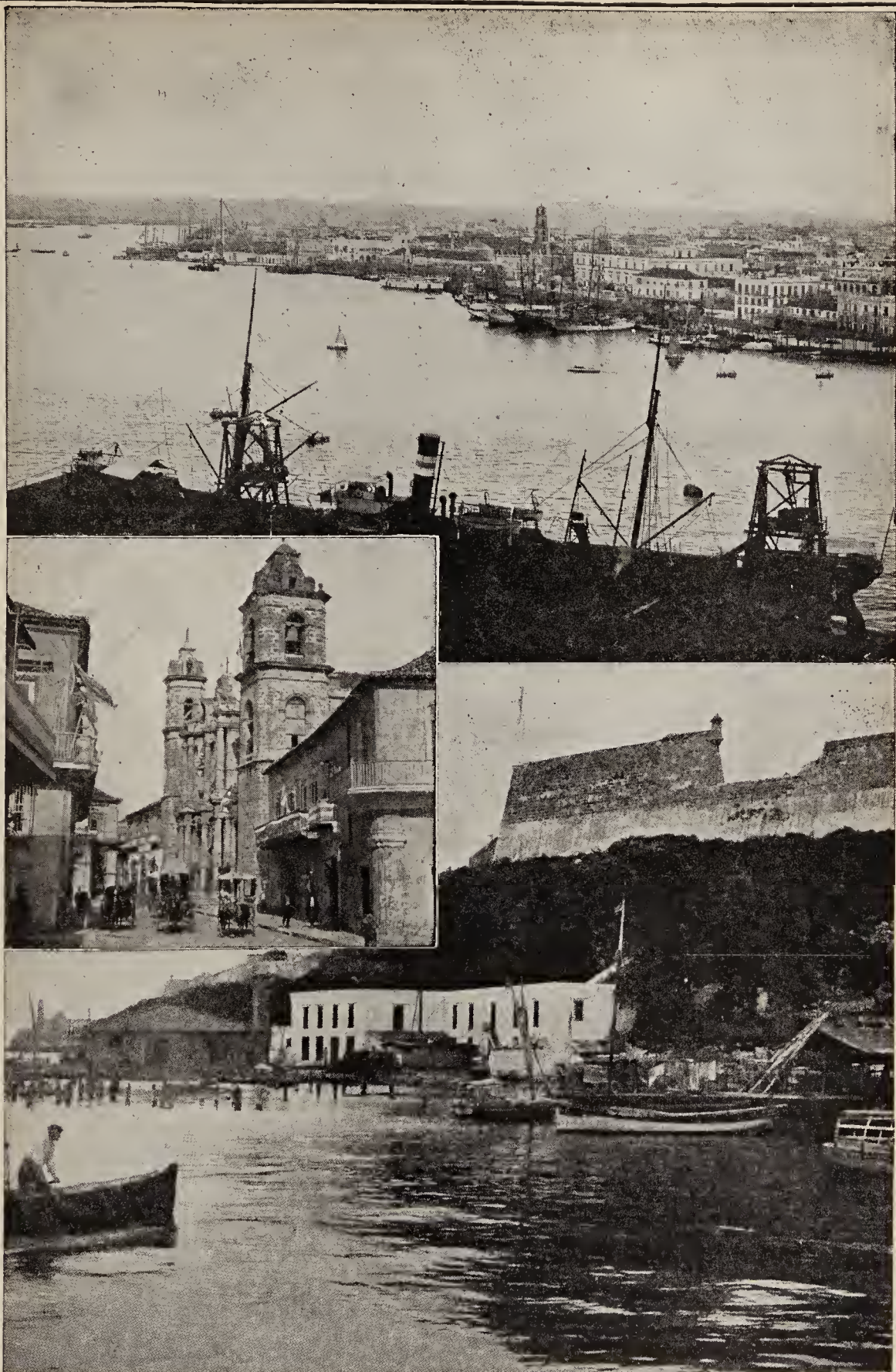
possessions. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century the colony did not grow much. A good many French immigrants came into Cuba after the revolution in Haiti, thus adding a progressive element to its population. Wealthy planters from the South American colonies also appeared and began to develop the agricultural resources, adding to the growing prosperity. The governor-general, however, was always a despot, with the power of a military commander in a besieged city. In 1879, after the first revolutionary movements had been initiated, the Cortes granted representation to Cuba, as it had done to Porto Rico, but the elections were so controlled that the deputies were nearly all natives of Spain, and not of Cuba.

One of the first revolutionary organisations was formed as far back as 1827 and was known as the Black Eagles. In

Various Revolutions in Cuba 1844 there was a threatened uprising of the slaves; thirteen hundred suspects were convicted and seventy-eight were shot. In 1849 Narciso Lopez, a Venezuelan, organised a filibustering expedition of six hundred men which sailed from New York and landed at Cardenas, but he was forced to re-embark and was chased to Key West by a Spanish man-of-war. The following year he and Colonel Crittenden, an American, landed again near Havana with 450 men, but their force was defeated and both leaders were executed.

In 1868 there was a more serious and widespread attempt to throw off Spanish authority. An uprising was started at Yara, under the leadership of Manuel de Cespedes. The constitution of the "Cuban Republic" was drafted and Cespedes was elected president by the insurgents. In 1873, the *Virginius*, an American vessel engaged in filibustering, was captured by Spain, and the crew was executed. For a time it seemed as if there would be war.

The Ten Years' War For ten years the struggle was continued and practically full possession of the eastern half of the island was attained, but the lack of arms and ammunition prevented complete success. Reinforcements arrived from Spain and the



SCENES IN HAVANA, THE CAPITAL OF CUBA

Havana harbour, seen in the first picture, with its imposing buildings overlooking the sea, is protected on the west by Punta Castle, and on the east by Moro Castle and La Cabaña, the latter being shown in the bottom illustration. Inset is the famous cathedral, built in 1764, where the ashes of Columbus rested until their removal to Spain in 1898.

insurgents made no further headway. Finally a compromise was effected; a general amnesty was granted and the surviving leaders of the insurrection were allowed to leave the island without molestation. Reforms were promised, but these promises were never completely fulfilled. From then on no general uprisings occurred until 1895, when the revolution was organised which terminated only with the active intervention of the United States, three years later, and the final loss of Cuba and Porto Rico to Spain as is told in another chapter of this volume.

There remains now to mark the progress of the English colonies, the most serious rivals that the Spaniards had in the West Indies. Chief of these is Jamaica. Its general level is somewhat higher than that of Cuba and a larger proportion of its area is covered by mountain ranges and broken up into ridges and deep valleys.

After the English occupation Port Royal and Kingston, the chief ports,

became the headquarters of the cruising buccaneers, rovers and slave traders. Jamaica, England's Chief Possession was ever the best customer for African slaves, which indicated the rapid growth of sugar planting. From this cause came the principal disturbances in its history. Many of the blacks escaped to the mountains where they lived in savage communities. These runaways, known as maroons, would descend from their strongholds and raid the settlements. An irregular warfare was carried on for many years. Finally peace was concluded by offering the maroons a reservation on which they would not be disturbed so long as they did not molest the whites. There were also violent uprisings of the slaves, even after public sentiment at home forced their emancipation, in 1833. These were put down with a cruelty inspired by a fear of their vast majority in numbers.

Throughout all the British West Indies the emancipation of the slaves



A TYPICAL TOBACCO PLANTATION IN THE PROVINCE OF HAVANA, CUBA

THE WEST INDIES

caused heavy losses to the sugar planters. Together with this event came the discovery that sugar could be extracted from the beet as well as from cane; these two causes together seemed at one time to threaten the complete ruin of the West Indian planters. Nor has the sugar industry ever quite recovered. To-day bananas are Jamaica's chief export, followed by sugar, coffee and rum.

The
Exports of
Jamaica

iards and infested with buccaneers and pirates during the days of much fighting, became a Crown colony in 1787. The settlers were largely Loyalist colonists from the United States, who were expelled during and after the American Revolution. It was the contraband trade brought by the Confederate blockade runners during our Civil War that gave these little islands, and

The Bahamas
During the
Civil War



A COUNTRY LANE IN JAMAICA, SHOWING THE LUXURIANCE OF THE FOLIAGE

Tobacco is of growing importance. As yet only a fourth of the island is under cultivation. Of the total population, numbering about 800,000, only 16,000 are white, a proportion that runs more or less through all the British islands, in contrast to the Spanish-speaking communities. There are about 20,000 Asiatic coolies, mostly Hindoos, in Jamaica, who have been imported as plantation labourers. Many smaller islands are attached to Jamaica, for governmental purposes. Kingston, the capital, is an attractive city.

The Bahamas, neglected by the Span-

especially Nassau, their chief port, their first prosperity. Trade is still largely with the United States, consisting mostly of sponges and pineapples. Sisal has been introduced from Yucatan and is being raised on a growing scale, but there is little plantation life.

In the Lesser Antilles Britain possesses most of the islands, the most important of which are Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, Trinidad and Barbados. Of these Barbados is the most important, though it is only twenty-one miles long and fourteen across. For its size it is one of the most thickly popu-

lated spots on the face of the earth, the inhabitants numbering 200,000, of which only ten per cent. are whites.

Trinidad is a large island, close up to the mainland of South America. At first it was thinly populated by the Spaniards, but after one of the several wars between them, Spain ceded it to England. The population is the same as that of Barbados, but hardly one eighth of the land is under cultivation. On the island is a great lake of asphalt and this is one

The
Lake of
Asphalt

penetrated these unexplored wilds in search of El Dorado, that mythical city of the golden empire which enticed so many Spanish grandees across the Western Ocean. The Dutch were the first to make permanent settlements here, but when Holland was dragged into the sphere of French revolutionary politics, in 1796, she lost to Great Britain the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and the Guiana settlements. The settlers from Barbados attacked these

Mainland
Possessions
of England



A FAIR IN THE WEST INDIES: THE MARKET-PLACE AT ROSEAU, DOMINICA

of the chief articles of export. Here, too, the sugar industry has declined, but of late cacao, coffee, tobacco and fruits have been exported at a growing rate.

British Guiana and British Honduras, though mainland possessions, are integral portions of the British West Indies. Both were brought definitely under the Crown during the wars of the French Revolution. Guiana was the name given to that vast but undefined area to the east of the Orinoco which touched upon the uncertain borderland of the Portuguese Brazils. Sir Walter Raleigh first

Dutch settlements and took them with little difficulty. They were restored in 1802, but the next year Great Britain again took over what is now known as British Guiana. The colony is to-day of about the same area as Great Britain. Its government is still essentially the same as during the Dutch era; only in a very indirect sense can it claim to rest upon a representative basis. Its staple crops are sugar and cotton and the coolie and the negro elements are unusually preponderant in the population.

British Honduras arose out of settle-



SHIPPING AND SEA-FRONT WAREHOUSES, BRIDGETOWN



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE CAPITAL FROM THE CATHEDRAL



BRIDGETOWN'S PROMENADE, SHOWING GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS
SCENES AT BRIDGETOWN, THE CAPITAL OF BARBADOS



THE BUSY MARKET-PLACE AT CAYENNE, THE CAPITAL OF THE COLONY



DEVIL'S ISLAND, WITH CONVICTS' BATHING-PLACE AT ILE ROYAL IN FOREGROUND



A CONVICT COLONY AT UPPER SINNAMARY
SCENES IN FRENCH GUIANA

THE WEST INDIES

ments effected by wood-cutters, mainly of British origin, who migrated in the eighteenth century to the coast of Yucatan. These maintained a precarious independence of the Spanish rulers of Mexico. From about 1756 England began to extend her protection to these settlers about Belize Bay, though without disputing Spain's right of territorial sovereignty. Belize was the port of shipment for the dye woods and other timber exported. There a form of local self-government grew up. In 1798 Spain attempted to expel these intruders, but the settlers, aided by English sailors, repelled the assault and attained a sort of independence recognised by both powers. In 1862 British Honduras attained the status of a colony under the governor of Jamaica, a connection which lasted till 1884. It is now a Crown colony with its own governor and owes its prosperity to its treasures of mahogany.

Generally considered, it will be noted that the governments of the British West Indian colonies lack that element of democracy so characteristic of larger British colonies elsewhere. The reason is not far to seek and will be easily understood by all Americans; the predominance of the negro element. In the Bahamas the negroes have little or no political power. The government of the colony is lodged with a governor appointed in England, together with an executive council and a legislative council, deriving their appointment and authority from the same source. There is a Legislative Assembly

of twenty-nine members elected by the people, but the suffrage is so qualified that it makes no trouble. Few negroes vote and the electors are mainly merchants and property owners.

In Jamaica the negro outbreak of 1865 led the planters to desire the stronger government of a Crown colony which, in 1884, was replaced by a constitution in which a representative element was, in a modified form, reintroduced. The Barbados house of assembly ranks with the old Virginia house of burgesses. Trinidad and Tobago, a small neighbouring

island, have a legislative council in common, nominated by the Crown; they have never had representative institutions.

Though France can no longer be rated as a colonising power in the West Indies, she still possesses two important islands in the Lesser Antilles; Martinique and Guadeloupe. The first of these will be remembered because of the great eruption of Mt. Pelee. The island is about forty-five

miles long and fifteen across but extremely mountainous. Martinique, as the centre of French life and activity in the West Indies, was much disturbed by the French Revolution. A serious outbreak of the negroes occurred in 1831, but was suppressed, though not with British harshness. All free persons were vested with the political rights of French citizens and in 1848 all the slaves were emancipated. The present population is estimated at 185,000, of which 10,000 are whites and the remainder coloured. Like Guadeloupe, Martinique is a



TYPES OF BRITISH WEST INDIAN SOLDIERS

**Government
of the
Islands**

**The
French
West Indies**



GENERAL VIEW OF FORT-DE-FRANCE, THE CAPITAL OF THE COLONY



ST. PIERRE, FORMERLY THE PRINCIPAL TOWN, AND THE HARBOUR



RUINS AT TROIS-ILETS: THE HOUSE IN WHICH EMPRESS JOSEPHINE WAS BORN
VIEWS IN MARTINIQUE, THE SCENE OF A GREAT EARTHQUAKE

THE WEST INDIES

department of France, with one senator and two deputies to represent it. The governor and the council are appointed by the home government. The chief products to-day are cacao, indigo, ginger, and fruits.

Curaçao, off the coast of Venezuela and west of Trinidad, is the headquarters of the Dutch colonies in the West Indies. Not only the neighbouring islands of Buen Aire and Aruba, but Saba, St. Eustatius and part of St. Martin in the Northern Caribbees, are dependencies of Holland, administered by deputies of the Governor of Curaçao. This island is about forty miles long with

The
Dutch
West Indies

and about the seaport, Charlotte Amalie. The buccancers and pirates were not slow in finding this sheltered bay and using it as a refuge. In 1671 the Danish West India Company took possession and established a trading station. In addition to St. Thomas, St. John and Santa Cruz belong to Denmark. The total population is about 30,000; the trade is small. They are only important from a naval standpoint. The prevailing language of St. Thomas is English; little evidence of Danish government is seen except the flag above the administration building. In 1866 Secretary Seward agreed to buy them for the United States for \$7,500,000 for a West Indian naval base but



GROUP OF WORKERS ON A SUGAR PLANTATION, GUADELOUPE

a surface of arid plains. The inhabitants number about 30,000, of which about a third are negroes. There is a deficiency of water and the people are compelled to store rain water. Corn, cotton, sugar, tobacco and fruits are the chief products, but the chief exports are salt, phosphate of lime and the well known liqueur, made from oranges.

Up in the northern part of the Lesser Antilles, close to Porto Rico, there is an island which has been of special interest to Americans; St. Thomas.

It is only thirteen miles long and three wide. The island is still a centre of traffic, as it has been since the early days, and nearly all of its 15,000 people, of whom nine tenths are black or coloured, live in

The
Danish
West Indies

Congress refused to ratify the bargain. Since then the question of acquiring this island has been discussed in the United States. In 1916 a treaty providing for the purchase of the islands for \$25,000,000 was ratified by the Senate.

Only the most important of the West India islands have been named. Some of them are so tiny that they are hardly shown upon the maps. Nearly all are beautiful and most of them are fertile. These smaller islands are attached for administrative purposes to a larger jurisdiction. The white man is able to live permanently on nearly all of them, and with greater white immigration their prosperity is bound to increase.

The Future
of the
West Indies

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.



KAIETEUR FALL, THE MOST WONDERFUL IN THE WORLD

With a height of 741 feet and a breadth varying from 350 feet in the dry season to 400 feet in the rainy season, the Kaieteur Fall, shown in the above picture, is the most wonderful in the world, being five times as high as Niagara. Set in majestic scenery on the Potaro River, in British Guiana, the river at the distance of a quarter of a mile above the fall has a depth of 35 feet, while the volume of water is computed to supply two and one-eighth million horse-power.

LEADING DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

A.D.		A.D.	
1000	Discovery of Vinland by Leif Ericsson	1623	Dutch found New Amsterdam (New York)
1200	Rise of the Incas in Peru c	1623	Settlement of Lord Baltimore in Newfoundland
1300	Reign of Maita Capak c	1625	Settlement of Barbados
1330	Reign of Capak Yupanki c	1625	New constitution proclaimed for Virginia
1360	Inca Roca: traditional organiser of the Inca system c	1627	Company of the Hundred Associates
1390	Yahuar Capak: the reign of tears c	1629	Charter of Massachusetts Company. Capture of
1400	Tecpanec supremacy in Mexico. Tezozomoc emperor of Anahuac. Chibcha pentarchy on the Magdalena c	1630	Quebec by English
1403	Huitzilihuitl in Mexico c	1630	Winthrop governor of Boston
1410	Huiracocha restores the Inca supremacy c	1632	Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore. Canada and
1419	Fall of Ixtlilxochitl. Rise of Aztecs c		Acadia restored to France
1427	Maxtla succeeds Tezozomoc c	1633	Champlain governor of Canada
1431	Alliance of Aztecs and Chichimecs to overthrow Tecpanecs. c Intellectual ascendancy of Chichimecs. c Progress of kingdom of Quito c	1634	First committee of the Privy Council for control of plantations
1440	Yupanki Pachacutec expands the Inca empire. c Montezuma I. organises the Aztec kingdom c	1635	Colony of Connecticut. Death of Champlain
1450	Supremacy of Tunja and Bogota on the Magdalena. Development of Aztec military ascendancy in Mexico	1636	Roger Williams at Providence
1460	Tupak Yupanki extends Inca empire	1638	David Kirke's settlement in Newfoundland
1468	Axayacotl succeeds Montezuma I.	1639	Colony of Maine
1470	Tenochtitlan (Aztec: Mexico) absorbs Tlatelulco. Incorporation of Chimú with Inca empire	1642	Montreal founded
1480	Quito incorporated by the Incas	1643	Confederation of New England colonies
1492	Columbus reaches the West Indies	1651	Commonwealth Navigation Act
1493	Second voyage of Columbus	1654	English take possession of Acadia
1497	John Cabot discovers Labrador	1655	Capture of Jamaica by Penn and Venables
1498	The Cabots explore North American coast-line	1655	Restoration Navigation Act. Colonies more stringently restricted
1499	Voyage of Amerigo Vespucci	1662	Charter granted to Connecticut
1500	Cabral discovers Brazil. Huana Capak Inca emperor. Extension of Bogota supremacy on the Magdalena under Nemequenc c	1663	Rhode Island Charter. Beginning of Carolina. Abolition of the Hundred Associates
1502	Bishoprics founded in Spanish dominion	1663	Carolina established as a colony
1503	Casa de Contratacion founded. Bull of Pope Alexander VI.	1664	First Assembly in Jamaica. English capture New Amsterdam, renamed New York
1511	Audiencia of San Domingo established	1665	De Courcelles governor of New France
1512	Discovery of Florida. Montezuma II. supreme in Anahuac (Mexico)	1666	Iroquois checked by De Tracy
1513	Balboa sights the Pacific from Panama	1667	Treaty of Breda
1516	Rio de la Plata discovered	1670	Hudson's Bay Charter. Prince Rupert president
1517	First importation of negro slaves. Yucatan discovered by Francesco de Cordoba	1672	Frontenac governor of New France
1519	Cortes invades Mexico	1673	French Mississippi expedition
1520	Magelhaes passes Straits of Magellan, on the first voyage of circumnavigation	1674	King Philip's War
1522	Bermudas discovered	1676	Rising against the government in Virginia
1526	Edict of Granada. Plate fleet organized	1681	Pennsylvania Charter
1527	Fishing fleets congregate off Newfoundland	1682	Frontenac replaced in Canada by De la Barre
1530	Struggle between Tunja and Bogota	1684	Massachusetts Charter annulled
1531	Brazil: capitanries established	1685	De la Barre replaced by Denonville
1532	Atahualpa usurps the Inca sovereignty. Pizarro invades Peru	1686	French attacks on Hudson's Bay Company
1534	Cartier on the St. Lawrence	1687	French Iroquois war
1535	Mendoza founds Buenos Ayres	1688	Andros appointed governor of all northern colonies
1536	Quesada's expedition. Submission of Bogota to Spain	1689	Frontenac returns as governor of Canada. English colonies claim restoration of their old constitutions
1539	De Soto's Mississippi expedition	1690	Expedition of Phips against Acadia and Quebec
1545	Silver mines of Potosi discovered	1691	New Massachusetts Charter
1549	Jesuits in Brazil	1695	French recover Acadia
1562	French Huguenot settlement in Florida	1697	Anglo-French hostilities suspended by European Treaty of Ryswick
1568	Hawkins and Drake at San Juan d'Ulloa	1698	Death of Frontenac
1572	Drake's raid on Nombre de Dios	1699	D'Iberville's Mississippi expedition. Beginning of Louisiana
1576	John Oxenham on the Pacific. Frobisher's first Arctic voyage	1702	Contests between South Carolina and Florida
1577	Drake sails on voyage of circumnavigation	1713	Treaty of Utrecht: Newfoundland acknowledged British; Acadia ceded (except Cape Breton) and becomes Nova Scotia. Asiento Treaty giving monopoly of slave trade with Spanish colonies, and other trading rights, to Great Britain
1583	Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland	1719	Bahama pirates suppressed
1584	Raleigh's first colony at Roanoke	1725	French establish Fort Niagara
1587	Discovery of Davis Strait by John Davis	1728	A government established in Newfoundland: Osborne first governor
1595	Raleigh's Guiana voyage	1731	French fort at Crown Point
1600	French settlement at Tadoussac	1732	Georgia Charter
1602	Gosnold's attempt to explore Virginia	1745	British capture Louisbourg
1603	Champlain's first voyage to the St. Lawrence	1748	Louisbourg restored by Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
1604	Champlain's second voyage	1754	French establish Fort Duquesne
1605	Port Royal (Annapolis) founded	1755	Braddock's disaster. Acadians scattered through other colonies
1606	Charter of Virginia and Plymouth Companies	1756	Montcalm in Canada; he captures Fort Oswego
1607	Colony of Virginia: settlement at Jamestown	1757	Montcalm captures Fort William Henry
1608	Quebec founded. Jesuits in Paraguay	1758	Montcalm defeats Abercrombie at Ticonderoga. British capture forts Frontenac and Duquesne, and Louisbourg
1609	Bermudas annexed. Second Virginia charter: Lord Delaware governor	1759	Capture of Quebec by Wolfe
1612	Hudson's Bay claimed for England	1760	Capture of Montreal
1615	Recollet Fathers in Canada	1762	France cedes Louisiana to Spain, France cedes her North American colonies to Britain. Spain cedes Florida to Britain. In the West Indies, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago ceded to Britain
1620	New Plymouth founded by Pilgrim Fathers		Treaty of Paris
1621	Grant of Nova Scotia to Sir W. Alexander. Dutch West India Company; origin of Dutch Guiana	1763	

LEADING DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

A. D.		A.D.	
1764	Grenville enforces existing commercial regulations. Pontiac's insurrection	1822	Retirement of San Martin. Iturbide becomes Emperor of Mexico
1765	George Grenville's Stamp Act	1823	Monroe Doctrine enunciated. Fall of Iturbide; Mexican Republic. Federal Union of Central America
1766	Rockingham Ministry repeals the Stamp Act and reduces customs duties, but passes Declaratory Act affirming the abstract right of taxation. Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) governor at Quebec	1824	Bolivar dictator in Peru
1767	Townshend's taxes	1825	John Quincy Adams President U.S.A. Independence of Uruguay. Independence of Bolivia
1768	Massachusetts recognises a Convention in place of the suppressed Assembly	1827	Bolivar resigns
1769	Prince Edward Island separated from Nova Scotia. Bedford's Resolution for changing the venue of trials	1829	Andrew Jackson president U.S.A.
1770	Repeal of Townshend's taxes except that on tea. Lord North's Ministry. The Boston Massacre	1830	Venezuela separates from Colombia
1772	Burning of the Gaspee	1831	Colombia becomes Republic of New Granada
1773	The "Boston Tea-party"	1832	S. Carolina repudiates tariff imposed by Congress
1774	General Gage governor of Massachusetts. Penal Acts against Boston. Quebec Act makes Canada a Crown colony, and establishes Roman Catholicism. Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia	1833	Chilian constitution established
1775	American War of Independence begun by Battle of Lexington. Battle of Bunker Hill. Washington commander-in-chief. Invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Benedict Arnold	1835	Rosas dictator at Buenos Ayres
1776	Collapse of Invasion of Canada. Boston evacuated. JULY: Declaration of Independence. British occupy New York. Battles of Brooklyn and Trenton	1837	Van Buren president U.S.A. Papineau's revolt in Canada
1777	Battles of Princeton and Brandywine Creek. British take Philadelphia. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Benjamin Franklin in Paris	1838	Lord Durham in Canada
1778	French alliance with Americans. North's conciliation proposals rejected. Death of Chatham. Beginning of Naval War	1839	Lord Durham's report. Central American Union dissolved. Peru and Bolivia separate states
1779	Spain joins the War; siege of Gibraltar	1840	Canarian Act of Reunion
1780	Campaign in the Southern colonies	1841	Harrison president (dies April 4th). Vice-President Tyler becomes president U.S.A.
1781	Surrender of Yorktown assures American independence	1842	Ashburton's Treaty
1782	Rodney recovers naval ascendancy at Battle of the Peace of Versailles; independence of the United States acknowledged. Emigration of U. E. Loyalists to Canada. Florida restored to Spain	1845	Polk president U.S.A. Annexation of Texas
1783	Constitution of the United States framed	1846	War between U.S. and Mexico
1787	George Washington first president of U.S.A.	1848	Mexican War ended. U.S. victorious
1789	Canada Act; separation of Upper and Lower Canada	1849	Repeal of British Navigation Acts. Zachary Taylor president U.S.A.
1791	Washington re-elected president	1850	Millard Fillmore president U.S.A.
1792	Jay's Treaty	1852	"Uncle Tom's Cabin" published
1794	San Domingo partly ceded to France by Spain	1853	Franklin Pierce president
1795	Toronto becomes capital of Upper Canada. British Guiana annexed	1854	Kansas-Nebraska Bill
1796	John Adams president U.S.A., Washington having refused re-election. Capture of Trinidad by British Honduras secured	1857	Buchanan president U.S.A. Dred Scott case
1797	Death of Washington	1858	Colony of British Columbia
1798	British Honduras secured	1860	Secession of South Carolina
1799	Death of Washington	1861	Lincoln president U.S.A. War of North and South. Capture of Fort Sumter. Battle of Bull Run. The Trent affair
1800	Franco-American Treaty	1863	Lincoln's Slave Emancipation Proclamation. New Granada becomes United States of Colombia
1801	Thomas Jefferson president of U.S.A.	1864	Ulysses S. Grant Federal commander. Archduke Maximilian made emperor of Mexico
1803	Louisiana Purchase	1865	Surrender of Lee and Johnston ends Civil War. Assassination of Lincoln. Andrew Johnson president. Jamaica disturbances suppressed by Governor Eyre
1807	Whitelock defeated at Buenos Ayres	1867	U.S. Reconstruction Act. Purchase of Alaska. British North America Act. Execution of Emperor Maximilian; Juarez president of Mexican Republic
1808	Portuguese monarchy at Rio de Janeiro	1869	Grant president U.S.A. Red River Rebellion
1809	Madison president U.S.A. Risings in Spanish colonies	1870	Blanco dictator of Venezuela
1810	Hidalgo's unsuccessful revolt in Mexico. Independent government proclaimed at Buenos Ayres	1871	British Columbia in B.N.A. Confederation
1811	Venezuela declares independence	1877	Hayes president U.S.A. Diaz president Mexico
1812	War between U.S.A. and Great Britain. Invasion of Canada repulsed	1878	B.N.A., except Newfoundland, included in the Dominion of Canada
1813	Bolivar at head of revolt in Northern Spanish colonies	1879	Canada adopts protection, under Sir J. Macdonald. War between Chili and Peru
1814	Capture of Washington. Peace of Ghent. Francia dictator of Paraguay	1881	Garfield, president U.S.A., assassinated. Vice-President Arthur becomes president. Canadian Pacific Railway begun. End of Chili-Peruvian War
1815	Repulse of New Orleans. Brazil constituted a kingdom	1885	Grover Cleveland president U.S.A. Riel's second rebellion
1816	Argentine Republic established	1886	Balmaceda president of Chili
1817	Monroe president U.S.A. San Martin's invasion of Chili. O'Higgins president of Chili	1889	Harrison president U.S.A. Republic of Brazil established
1819	Florida acquired by U.S.	1891	Fall of Balmaceda
1820	Missouri Compromise	1893	Cleveland (2) president U.S.
1821	Independence of Spanish colonies assured by battle of Carabobo	1896	Venezuela Boundary Arbitration
1822	Brazil declared independent. Bolivar president of Colombia	1897	McKinley president U.S.
		1898	War between Spain and U.S.
		1899	Annexation of Philippines by U.S.A.
		1900	Castro president of Venezuela
		1901	McKinley assassinated. Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt becomes president U.S.A.
		1903	Application of Monroe Doctrine in Venezuela
		1905	Roosevelt re-elected president U.S.A.
		1908	Expulsion of President Castro from Venezuela
		1909	W. H. Taft inaugurated president U.S.A.
		1912	Civil War in Mexico
		1913	Woodrow Wilson, president U.S.A.
		1914	Panama Canal opened



HOPE

One star, one string, and all the rest
Darkness and everlasting space,
Save that she shelters in her breast
The travail of the race.

Borne thro' the cold and soundless deep
With ruin riding down the air,
She bows, too heavenly to weep,
Too human to despair.

And ever on her lonely string
Expects the music from above,
Some faint confirming whispering
Of fatherhood and love.

One star, one string, and thro' the drift
Of æons sad with human cries
She waits the hand of God to lift
The bandage from her eyes

HAROLD BEGBIE

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